LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
APR 11 1950
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
BS1197
.I.W214

DUKE UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

THE BIBLE
AND
MODERN BELIEF

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
APR 11 1950
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE BIBLE AND MODERN BELIEF

A Constructive Approach to the Present Religious Upheaval

BY

LOUIS WALLIS

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS

DURHAM, N. C.

Copyright, 1949, by Louis Wallis
Printed in the United States of America

Quotations may be made without special permission

NORTH RIVER PRESS

NEW YORK

TO MY WIFE

GRACE TYLER WALLIS

WHO HAS HELPED

IN COUNTLESS WAYS

PREFACE

THE TERM "BELIEF" is used in this book in the specific sense of belief in God as reaching us through the Jewish-Christian tradition. The emphasis, therefore, is not primarily upon religious ideas at high levels of abstraction but upon belief as originating concretely in ancient Israel, then passing through the Roman empire in the form of Pauline individualism, and finally as emerging from the Middle Ages into the modern scientific era through a struggle to recover its ancient social context as revealed in the Hebrew prophets and the synoptic gospels. The book does not seek to adjust the individualistic and social interpretations of the Gospel into a theological system, and it holds that the Church cannot identify itself with a definite politico-economic program or platform.

The Hebrew prophets believed in a God who is the champion of social justice and individual morality and who is in the thick of human history. They believed in a God who is near and not far away. And their struggle against "other gods" was waged in the strength of this faith. But the final

establishment of monotheism in the single tribe of Judah, or the Jews, was attended by tremendous convulsions of history that had the effect of shifting the center of theological attention to a point outside the prophetic orbit.

The Jews became staunch monotheists after the terrible experiences of the Babylonian Captivity. They were faithful to the prophetic vision of One God, but there was no scientific knowledge in those days, and so the Jews were unable to comprehend the Hebrew past as a gradual evolution out of paganism. They naturally looked back upon the history of Israel in view of its monotheistic outcome.

Accordingly, the scribes of the Jews, in all good faith, created the priestly law, written around the literary picture of a sumptuous "Tabernacle in the Wilderness," located at the center of the camp of Israel in the desert, as the one legal sanctuary of the One God. The Tabernacle is described in the law as revealed by Jehovah, who descends briefly upon a flaming mountain top, making his will known at a single stroke in a manner which is not compatible with a process of historic evolution.

This law contemplates God as a Transcendent Power, coming into contact with Israel through an elaborate ecclesiastical system administered by

priests who mediate between God and man. This theology became official and "orthodox" in ancient Judaism after the Babylonian Exile, when the main body of the Hebrew people – the "lost tribes" of Ephraim – had already vanished from history. The priestly regime was taken over by the Latin church, which proclaimed its own Latin-speaking clergy to be the lawful successors of the Hebrew priesthood ordained in the desert of Arabia. The Latin theology found expression in the system of St. Augustine; and it was reproduced by the reformer, John Calvin, whose claims for Protestant ministers of the Gospel were as high as the claims of Augustine for the Latin priesthood.

Thus, Jewish orthodoxy penetrated the Latin Christian imagination and has powerfully shaped the psychology of Protestantism. But the hold of orthodox dogma began to be shaken in the nineteenth century, when Biblical criticism challenged its basic premises; and by the year 1900 most critical scholars had reached the opinion that the sumptuous "Tabernacle in the Wilderness" was never a literal, historic fact.*

It is one thing, however, to hold an opinion, even though it seems reasonable in character and agrees with scientific methodology. But it is another thing

*Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1902), IV, 666.

to translate such an opinion into a definitive conclusion based upon direct proof. That such proof, or evidence, emerges from the inner depths of the priestly narrative about the "Tabernacle" has recently become certain. Before the publication of the facts in book form, however, the disclosure has been carefully checked by authorities at Chicago, Duke, Harvard, Michigan, and Yale universities, the Hartford Theological Seminary, the McCormick Theological Seminary of Chicago, and a few other institutions. An outline was also issued through the *Christian Century* and a number of other periodicals.

The rise of modern Biblical scholarship has naturally caused modification in the forms of belief, but theological changes have no terror for the reverent scholar whose faith is deep enough "to see the hand of God as clearly in a long, providential development as in a sudden miracle."*

*Professor W. Robertson Smith, in Preface to Julius Wellhausen's *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Edinburgh, 1885), p. ix.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For many kinds of service and co-operation, cordial thanks are extended to Professors W. A. Irwin, of the University of Chicago; W. F. Stinespring, of Duke University; R. H. Pfeiffer, of Harvard University; Leroy Waterman, of the University of Michigan; J. A. Bewer, of Union Theological Seminary; George Dahl, of Yale University; Moses Bailey, of Hartford Theological Seminary; O. R. Sellers, of McCormick Theological Seminary; I. G. Matthews, of Crozer Theological Seminary.

CONTENTS

I.	BELIEF AS A CONCRETE HERITAGE	1
II.	THE RETALIATION UPON EPHRAIM	20
III.	OUR JUDAIZED BIBLE	28
IV.	WILDERNESS BEGINNINGS	34
V.	JEHOVAH AGAINST METROPOLITAN CORRUPTION	47
VI.	EPHRAIM CENTRAL IN HEBREW HISTORY	53
VII.	JUDAH REPEATS EPHRAIM'S TRAGEDY	72
VIII.	JUDAH AND THE PRIESTLY REGIME	79
IX.	BIBLICAL MONOTHEISM BECOMES WORLD FAITH	84

APPENDICES

I.	JUDAIC MANIPULATION OF EPHRAIMITE MATERIAL	99
II.	PRIORITY OF EPHRAIMITE SOURCES	108
III.	TABERNACLE NARRATIVE POSTEXILIC	117
IV.	CONVENTIONAL TRIBAL HISTORY CONFUSED, IMPOSSIBLE	130
V.	TRIBE OF JUDAH LATE	140
VI.	FURTHER LIGHT ON BIBLICAL SOURCES	148
INDEX OF SUBJECTS		167
INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES		174

CHARTS

THE PRO–LEAH TABERNACLE	27
DIAGRAM OF JUDAH–EPHRAIM TENSION	53

THE BIBLE
AND
MODERN BELIEF

I.

BELIEF AS A CONCRETE HERITAGE

CONDITIONS OF TODAY'S CRISIS

The religious upheaval today is the outcome of many influences and forces operative since modern history began. Among these may be mentioned the sciences of astronomy and geology, which have given us new conceptions of the universe; the doctrine of evolution, which has vastly extended our sense of human history; the higher criticism of the Bible, which has put ancient Hebrew life alongside the experience of other nations in the field of general history; the steadily increasing pressure of social and economic problems; the prevalence of war and rumors of war; and as a climax to modern scientific research, the discovery of atomic fission, which reveals the power of God working intimately and continuously throughout the entire universe in what was once viewed as "dead matter." These and other developments are profoundly affecting belief.

BELIEF A CONCRETE HERITAGE

We often meet the assumption that our belief has been somehow established upon logical grounds,

and there has, indeed, been a great deal of learned argument about the existence and attributes of God. But our belief, in its origin, is not based upon abstract premises; it has a concrete lineage, which goes back through modern history, the Middle Ages, and the Roman Empire into the ancient Jewish community, and finally into the Hebrew, or Israelite, nation from which the Jews themselves were survivors. Not primarily, then, by abstract argument, but because we are born into it, we believe in One God of justice, righteousness, and mercy, without whom we should be lost and homesick amid the terrors of a bewildering universe.

PROBLEM OF BELIEF, A READJUSTMENT OF PERSPECTIVE

The human race has been undergoing a spiritual evolution, which began before the dawn of recorded history and which moves by slow stages toward a clearer and more definite consciousness of God as the basic moral-personal Reality in the cosmos. The perspective of our belief is now broadening out beyond the more limited background open to earlier generations, when there was no scientific knowledge.

For example, our inherited religious ideology goes back to a period when man's intellectual out-

look was of such a limited nature that the earth was thought to be a flat, circular plane of unknown thickness; and the sky was viewed as a kind of immense inverted kettle painted blue on the concave side facing the earth. The sun came up over the eastern edge of the flat plane and circulated within the concave surface of the inverted sky-kettle, disappearing over the western edge of the earth; whereupon the moon and stars came up in the east and went through the same revolution.

This fantastic toy-universe was believed by the ancient Jews to have been created by Jehovah in the year 3761 B.C., in the month of October, at about 11 P.M. So that, by adding the Christian Era to this figure, we get the date of Creation as about 5700 years ago.* But every nation of antiquity believed that its own god, or gods, created the little world in which men lived. And so far as the idea of "creation" is concerned, there is nothing new in the statement that Jehovah created the world. Our inherited belief, therefore, did not originate in metaphysical propositions about a "real" God who made the heavens and the earth, in contrast with "unreal" gods who could not create, because they were "nonexistent."

*Robert Henry Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1941), p. 200.

ORIGIN OF BELIEF IN HEATHENISM

The ancient Hebrews did not at first believe in One God; and, in fact, the Bible itself bears witness over and over again that the people of Israel worshiped Baal and other gods along with Jehovah. The Israelites were persistently condemned as heathen by their own prophets, and this fact calls for attention at the starting point of any objective approach to our belief. And, at the same time, we must realize that the prophets were not stationed upon the summit of an abstract theology from which they belabored the people of Israel with philosophical rhetoric about "the existent" versus "the nonexistent." Such ideas developed later on, it is true, and were projected back into Biblical accounts of early human history. But when we read the books of the prophets, it is clear that these great religious teachers, in opposing the worship of "other gods," did not conduct their arguments upon philosophical grounds.

PRIMITIVE CLANS OF EARLY ISRAEL

As one travels to Palestine across the Mediterranean Sea, the highlands of Israel thrust themselves upon the approaching observer with dramatic impressiveness. The country rises out of the

water at an elevation more than twice that of the Empire State Building in the City of New York. If another building of the same dimensions were placed upon the top of this towering metropolitan edifice, the combined height of the two structures would not come up to the height of Palestine above the level of the sea. The highlands of Israel, rising between the Mediterranean on the west and the desert on the east, were the majestic witnesses to a peculiar and wonderful evolution out of heathenism into the worship of One God. Here, for the first time in human history, the soul of man was lifted into a triumphant vision of the Highest.

EMERGENCE OF CLANS FROM ARABIAN WILDERNESS

Coming from the desert, on the eastern side of the highlands, the early pagan Hebrews climbed up into the range of hills where Israel was to become the religious teacher of the world. That Israel began on the common level of ancient heathenism is clear not only from the denunciations of the prophets but is impressively shown by the important Biblical writing called the book of Nehemiah, which reviews the Hebrew past in unimpeachable terms as follows: *"Neither have our kings, our princes, our priests, nor our fathers kept thy law, nor hearkened unto thy commandments"* (Neh. 9:34).

DENUNCIATION OF ECONOMIC OPPRESSION, SEXUAL CORRUPTION, BAAL WORSHIP BY THE PROPHETS

The prophets of Israel bitterly denounced Baal worship, sexual depravity, and concentration of wealth in the hands of an opulent few. These things appear to have been three separate facts. But they were viewed by the prophets as phases of a single wicked regime that lay under the judgment of Jehovah. The cult of Baal was attacked by the prophets, not because Baal had no "existence" in a metaphysical sense, but because Baal worship went along with sexual depravity and economic oppression of the poor by the rich.

But if the people of Israel were heathen followers of Baal and other gods, what was the relation of Jehovah to Israel? And whence came the powerful impulse, or force, which drove the Hebrew prophets into their struggle against Baal as the symbol of abominations hated by Jehovah? These questions will go with us.

EXILE FORETOLD BY THE PROPHETS

The prophets declared that the people of Israel would be punished for their sins by being carried away into captivity. And in fulfilment of prophetic

prediction, the King of Assyria, from the distant city of Nineveh, came with an army into the highlands of Israel, and carried away the *main body* of the Hebrew people, so that the bulk of the nation disappeared forever, being known thenceforth as "the lost tribes of Israel."

HEBREW FRAGMENT LEFT IN SOUTHERN PALESTINE, JUDAH OR THE JEWS

Only a small fragment of the Hebrew people now remained – the tribe of Judah, or the Jews, in the southern highlands of Palestine. (The name "Jew" comes from "Judah.") And strange as it may seem, many Jews were not in the least pained or grieved when the bulk of the Hebrew people disappeared, for there had always been hostility between the Jews and the tribes of Ephraim, which were carried away by the Assyrians.

INTERTRIBAL HOSTILITY REFLECTED IN LEGENDS OF ISRAEL

According to the quaint folklore of Israel in the book of Genesis, the "lost tribes" are said to be the progeny of Rachel, the only beloved wife of Jacob, the father of the Hebrew people. Whereas, on the other hand, the legends declare the Jews to be the

children of Jacob's hated wife, Leah. The striking correspondence between the legends, as we find them in Genesis, and the actual history of Israel as we read it in the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, is not a mere chance or accident. The legends appear to be earlier than the history, but the facts are the precise opposite because the history itself was the pattern within which the legends were formed. And not only so, but the "Rachel" tribes constituted the main body and core of the Hebrew nation; they had the legend-building power in Israel, and thus they were able to shape the folklore to their own advantage against the Jews and against "Leah."

JEWISH CAPTIVITY ALSO FORETOLD BY THE PROPHETS

The prophets of Judah denounced their own people for committing the same iniquities that had been practiced by the lost tribes — economic oppression of the poor by an opulent minority, sexual demoralization, and Baal worship. The prophets of Judah declared that the Jews were no better than the other Hebrews, that they were equally deserving of punishment, and that they likewise would be carried into exile. The blow fell when a foreign king, Ne-

buchadnezzar, invaded southern Palestine with a great army, destroyed the Jewish capital, Jerusalem, and carried the Jews into captivity "by the rivers of Babylon."

TRANSFORMATION OF JEWS INTO INFLEXIBLE MONOTHEISTS

The appalling destruction of Jerusalem, followed by the Babylonian Exile, gave the Jews frightful experiences that left a permanent mark on the Jewish mentality. The Jews were terrified out of heathenism and shocked into the exclusive worship of Jehovah. But unlike the lost tribes of Israel, the Jews were eventually permitted to return home, where they rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem and became once more an organized people. And it was in the post-exilic epoch that the religion known as "Judaism" came into effect for the first time. Judaism is based upon "The Law," or the "Pentateuch," which, as the book of Nehemiah testifies, was not followed before the Babylonian captivity (Neh. 9:34).

PROBLEM RAISED BY MONOTHEISM IN JUDAEO-CHRISTIAN TRADITION

The enduring character of monotheistic belief, as professed by Jews and Christians, raises the funda-

mental problem underlying today's religious crisis: How is it that while the gods of ancient heathenism have, one and all, gone down into darkness, the God of Israel has come across the ages in the living, Judæo-Christian tradition? The gods of Babylon, Assyria, Tyre, Egypt, Greece, and Rome lie buried in the vast graveyard of pagan religion. But the name of Jehovah survives the spiritual wreckage of the ancient world. What is the explanation of this unique and prodigious marvel?

THE "ORTHODOX" ANSWER

Jewish postexilic orthodoxy replies by asserting that the heathen gods went down into oblivion because they were "no gods"; they had no existence, no reality, no life. Whereas, in contrast, the God of Israel was the only existing and living God. The Jewish orthodox answer was taken over into the Christian tradition and wrought into theological systems even more abstract than Judaism. The Jewish and Christian orthodoxies are, of course, metaphysical attempts to explain why "Jehovah" survives the wreck of ancient paganism. But they merely assert without explaining; and, in fact, they implicitly deny that Judæo-Christian monotheism calls for any scientific explanation whatever in

terms of cause and effect. Indispensable service has been rendered by orthodoxy, and even today orthodox dogma serves many who find no benefit in modern interpretations of Hebrew history and the Bible.

ANSWER OF MODERN SCIENTIFIC SCHOLARSHIP

In contrast with orthodoxy, all progressive Jewish and Christian investigators admit the validity of scientific method in the religious field, and accordingly, modern theological scholarship holds that the Hebrew idea of Jehovah went through an "evolution." The most lucid statement of the modern view has been given by the Scotch authority, Professor George Adam Smith, in a special course of lectures at Yale University. Dr. Smith's treatment of the problem is not final, but it shows the direction in which progressive theological scholarship is traveling:

"The god of early Israel was a tribal god."* [But] "behind that national deity of Israel, and through the obscure and vain imaginations which the early nation had of him, there were present the Character and Will of God himself, using the people's low thoughts and symbols to express himself to them; lifting them always a little higher, and finally making himself known as he did through the prophets as the God

**Biblical World* (Chicago, 1896), Vol. I, p. 100.

of the Whole Earth, identical with righteousness and abounding in mercy."*

Dr. Smith's clear statement, with its moral beauty and spiritual depth, has a realistic, objective quality lacking in the abstract, orthodox reply to the question about the survival of Jehovah. Modern Biblical scholarship does not identify "Jehovah" with God. It assumes that the idea of Jehovah originated in primitive, prehistoric times and that it was a kind of psychological channel through which Israel's apprehension of Deity, or God, moved upward from low levels of heathen belief to the heights of ethical monotheism, *in response to the pressure of definite external stimuli.*

Modern Biblical scholarship holds that God, as the basic moral-personal Reality in the universe (distinct from the Hebrew idea of Jehovah), was involved in the spiritual evolution of Israel and that, beginning in remote, prehistoric times among savage tribes, God, as thus conceived, has been and is now a factor in the unfolding moral experience of mankind, from primeval ages up to our own troubled era.

The condition, or tendency, which we call "the Moral Law," is a resident *fact* of the universe in which we live. It is a matter of experience, like the

*George Adam Smith, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament* (New York, 1901), pp. 128–129. The two excerpts give Dr. Smith's position as stated in his Yale lectures.

law of gravitation, with its own imperative pressure upon us. And therefore the ethical evolution of man is the peculiar field within which God operates as a Personal Power, not only in Hebrew history as described in the Bible, but in all history. Emphasis upon the demands of morality is evident at every turn in Biblical history, and even orthodoxy is working in defense of the moral imperative. But on the other hand, the scientific interpretation of Hebrew history, by refusing to admit the validity of the older concept of the supernatural and by including the Judæo-Christian tradition within the orbit of general human experience, takes the problem of belief out of the obscurantism and metaphysical abstraction where orthodoxy leaves it.

DIFFICULT SITUATION TODAY

More swiftly than ever, the results of scientific research and progress filter down into the popular mind. Not only high-school and college graduates, but millions of persons who have had little formal education, are aware of the widening breach between orthodox religious ideas and the conceptions of scientific scholarship in all fields.

Most people today are outside the churches but are not ready to abandon belief in God. And at the

same time, the laity in the field of organized religion are aware that something has happened with reference to many theological doctrines confidently proclaimed a few generations ago. But the people in the pews are not consciously and actively searching for scientific instruction about the Bible. The state of the lay mind in the churches, therefore, gives rise to a practical religious problem, touched with tragedy, in a cultural pattern more and more dominated by scientific methods and concepts.

Thus, even where pulpits are served by graduates of progressive divinity schools, the problem remains in a state of irresolution. The progressive clergy understand the modern view of the Bible, as far as it has gone. But in spite of the devoted labor of many scholars like Professor G. A. Smith, quoted above, the contact of the churches with scientific methods and results cannot be called satisfactory. A liberal pastor, for example, undertakes to explain modern views to a mixed Bible class of adults. But most of the members are naturally perplexed by the distinction which modern theological scholarship recognizes between Jehovah and God. They cannot be quite sure where Jehovah leaves off and God begins. The over-all consequence is that orthodoxy retains a vague empire and possesses an impalpable advantage, even in the midst of intellectual emancipation from dogma.

The current crisis of belief, however, cannot settle down into conditions which prevailed in the past but will come to a head around the reorganization of cultural attitudes toward the Bible and religion. The change has gone forward slowly for two reasons: first, because feelings and attitudes, habitual under orthodoxy, persist in the atmosphere of current religious opinion, acting as obstacles to progress; and second, because in the field of theology itself the scientific interpretation of the Bible has not emerged into the full, constructive clarity needed in a time of crisis.

FUNDAMENTAL ANTITHESIS IN BIBLE AND IN HEBREW HISTORY

Turning from these preliminaries, we recur to the fundamental contrast between Judah and Israel in history and legend, which will be found to supply an unexpected clue to the literary construction of the Bible and presently a new insight upon the problem of belief. We have observed that the folklore of Israel assigns the Jews to the maternity of Jacob's hated wife, Leah; and as this highly interesting, and even exciting, legendary material is followed up to its ultimate source, the cloud of disfavor which overshadows Leah and her children is found to be in sharp contrast to a series of unique

favoritisms, or preferences, beginning with Rachel, the beloved wife of Jacob, and going on to Joseph, the best-loved son of the patriarch.

HOUSE OF JOSEPH CENTRAL FACTOR IN HEBREW NATION

As we approach the actual history of Israel, the "House of Joseph" comes into view as composing the bulk and innermost heart of the Hebrew people and is found in solid possession of the central highlands which rise before us as we draw near the country by way of the Mediterranean. The Joseph-clans consisted of an older group, Manasseh, which was eventually absorbed by the younger and more vigorous branch, Ephraim, whose name was impressed upon the entire Josephite region, which then became known as the "hill country of Ephraim."

EPHRAIM VERSUS JUDAH

When we look attentively at the facts, it is clear that the Ephraimites originally occupied the very focus of Hebrew history. It was they who built the monarchy of Israel in the central Canaanite hills, under the leadership of the prophet Samuel and of

Saul, who became the first king. And all this took place at an early epoch, described in the books of Judges and First Samuel, when there were no Judaic, or Jewish, leaders and heroes on the historic Hebrew stage.

But after the rise and fall of the Ephraimite kingdom a new and smaller state was formed in the southern hills, at a higher geographic level, overlooking Ephraim. The new state was called "the kingdom of Judah," and its leader, David, established a military dynasty and acquired power over the disorganized Ephraimites. But the rule of the house of Judah over the house of Ephraim became very oppressive. The dynasty of David chastised Ephraim "with whips"; whereupon the Ephraimites rose in rebellion, saying, "What inheritance have we in David? To your tents, O Israel. Now see to thine own house, David. So Israel rebelled against the house of David to this day. And there was none that followed the house of David but the tribe of Judah only" (I Kings 12:10–20).

In other words, the "Rachel tribes," identified with Jacob's favorite wife, rejected Judah, which was derived from the maternity of Leah, the hated wife of the Hebrew patriarch. And so Judah was debarred from Israel-Ephraim in the same way that the legends of Israel exclude Leah herself from the

tent of Jacob (Gen. 29:21–34; 30:20). Eternal animosity, therefore, prevailed between Judah and Ephraim. The crux of the legend is its correspondence with actual, objective Hebrew history. Moreover, the legend-building power was primarily in Ephraim and not in Judah. The Ephraimites were eventually carried away into endless exile by the Assyrian army and thus became "the lost tribes of Israel."

BIBLE THROUGH JEWISH "BOTTLENECK"

The little one-tribe kingdom of Judah was thus left standing alone in southern Palestine, hating the memory of Ephraim. And then, in course of time, the Judeans, or Jews, were carried away into captivity by the Babylonians. The tribe of Judah was thus the only group remaining out of the original twelve legendary tribes of Israel. And so the little postexilic Jewish community became the "bottleneck" through which we get all that we know about ancient, pre-exilic Israel. The scribes of the Jews carried with them into captivity a large number of pre-exilic manuscripts, or scrolls, but they had no Bible because there was no Bible in existence when the Jews went into exile.

It was at this late epoch, in and after the Cap-

tivity, that Jewish writers who are unknown to us created the Hebrew Bible (our Old Testament). They created it partly from the ancient manuscripts which they brought with them and partly in view of the importance conferred upon the Jews as the only surviving remnant of Israel and the burden-bearers of Israel's world mission.

JEWISH ATTITUDE TOWARD EPHRAIMITES AS INFERIOR PEOPLE

And here the fact needs to be emphasized that Judah was connected with Ephraim only during the reigns of the first two kings of the Davidic dynasty, when these monarchs were engaged in holding the Ephraimites in subjection. The house of Judah, therefore, never had any sense of Israelite nationality in co-ordination with Ephraim but only a sense of Ephraim as an inferior people whom it was right for Judah to exploit. How the exilic and postexilic scribes proceeded to deal with vanished Ephraim will be considered in the following chapter.

II.

THE RETALIATION UPON EPHRAIM

JUDAH'S REPLY TO EPHRAIMITE PRESTIGE

Readers of the Bible have been generally justified in refusing to linger over the wearisome, deadly dull accounts of "the Tabernacle in the Wilderness," found in the central parts of the Pentateuch and said to have been dictated by Jehovah upon Mount Sinai. These priestly writings of which the Pentateuch so largely consists, and around which the Pentateuch is in fact built, are tedious and heavy beyond words. And yet, in spite of their monotonous, irksome nature, these narratives, if scrutinized with care, spring into dramatic and vivid life when, from their inner depths, a clue emerges, disclosing with invincible proof the astounding retaliation of Jewish postexilic scribalism upon the long-vanished Ephraim.

A COMPLETE JEWISH-LEAH MONOPOLY

The Tabernacle is described as a four-sided structure, facing the main points of the compass

and standing at the very center of the Israelite camp in the desert. Its basic sociological character is revealed when the disposition of tribal groups given in the book of Numbers (chaps. 1–4) is checked by the legendary genealogies in the book of Genesis (chaps. 29–30).

The administration of sacrifice and burnt offering is committed to a family of blue-blooded priests chosen out of a tribe known as *Levi,* descended from Jacob's hated wife, Leah. And at the same time the *remainder* of the tribe of Levi, consisting of nonpriestly, or common, Levites, is placed all around the Tabernacle as police guards, who also act as porters, to carry the dismantled structure from place to place in the wilderness.

JEWS ON FRONT, OR EAST, SIDE

The front of an Oriental building faces east, where it catches the first gleams of the rising sun. And here, on the front side of the Tabernacle in the most honorable position, we find the Jews, who, like the Levites, are descended from Leah. *"On the east side, toward the rising of the sun, shall they of the standard of the camp of Judah pitch"* (Num. 2:3). The standard of Judah includes, along with the Jews, on the front side of the sanctuary two

other tribes descended from Leah, namely, *Issachar* and *Zebulun*. The tribe of Issachar, in particular, is given a place of honor with Judah in evident compensation for the Ephraimite legendary scandal that Leah had to hire the reluctant Jacob to beget Issachar (Hebrew, *sachar,* "hire").

CAMP OF FIRST-BORN REUBEN ON SOUTH SIDE

Turning now to the south side of the Tabernacle, we find "the standard of the camp of Reuben." The tribe of this name is not only descended from Leah, but is also the "first-born." Why, then, is the Leah-tribe of Reuben "demoted" from the front side, where it might have exchanged places with Zebulun, the sixth son of Leah? The answer is that in the legends Reuben commits the sin of seducing a slave-girl in the menage of Jacob (Gen. 35:22). "Unstable as water! Thou shalt not excel!" exclaims Jacob (Gen. 49:4). Under the standard of Reuben is found the Leah-tribe of *Simeon,* together with another tribe, *Gad,* which came from Leah's own bondmaid, or slave-woman.

CAMP OF SLAVE-GIRL TRIBES ON NORTH SIDE

Going over now to the north side of the building, we find "the standard of the camp of *Dan.*" This

embraces three tribes, all of which are descended from slave-mothers, namely, the tribes of *Dan, Asher,* and *Naphtali.*

DISPOSITION OF THE EPHRAIMITES, THE RACHEL-TRIBES

Analysis thus accounts for tribes on the interior and on the east, south, and north sides of the sanctuary. But up to this point in our search we have discovered only the descendants of Leah and the descendants of slave-women. We have not found any tribes which, according to the folklore of Israel, came from the motherhood of Rachel, the only beloved wife of Jacob. The Rachel-tribes, in the actual course of history, dominated the bulk of the Hebrew nation, repelled most of its enemies, and founded the original monarchy of Israel. Where, then, are they to be found? If we now carry our analysis around to the rear of the Tabernacle, we at length find "the standard of the camp of *Ephraim,*" embracing the three Rachel-tribes of *Ephraim, Manasseh,* and *Benjamin.* The tribes which came from the maternity of Jacob's favorite wife are, therefore, located on the back side of the desert church, in the most obscure and humiliating position, not only inferior to the six Leah-tribes, but

subordinate even to the tribes issuing from slave-mothers.

TABERNACLE POSITIONS OF EPHRAIM, JUDAH COMPARED

The name of Ephraim, the junior tribe in actual *history,* did not supersede the name of the senior tribe, Manasseh, until a late period. And yet this later-established fact of history is followed by the priestly narrative about the Tabernacle in speaking of "the standard of the camp of *Ephraim.*" And in the same way, there is neither historical nor legendary warrant for assuming that in the time of the imaginary "Tabernacle in the Wilderness" the tribe of the Jews had a primary, or foremost, position corresponding to the importance actually conferred upon the Jews by the disappearance of the Ephraimites as "the lost tribes," and by the historic survival of the Jews in the Babylonian Captivity.

TABERNACLE NOT ISRAELITE, IMPARTIAL; BUT JEWISH, BIASED

The alleged wilderness church appears, on a superficial view, to be a wholly impartial, unprejudiced provision for the religious needs of the entire

Hebrew people. But careful analysis reveals the Tabernacle in its true character as the literary reflection of a meticulous, postexilic design to put Ephraim, or the house of Joseph, and the beloved Rachel in a shadow, or penumbra, beyond the functional center of Hebrew life; while, on the other hand, it symbolizes a pro-Jewish, pro-Leah monopoly of national honors, giving the Leah-descended priests (who in practice are absorbed into Judah) the exclusive right and privilege of administering the relationship between Jehovah and Israel. All of this formidable tour de force corresponds in a natural way to the function ultimately thrust upon the Jews by history as the burden-bearers of Israel's mission, but it was not literal, historic fact in the life of Israel during the wilderness period, and it conflicts fatally with Israel's evolution in Palestine during the entire epoch from the invasion of Canaan to the Babylonian Exile.*

CONFIRMATION OF ANALYSIS BY PROPHET JEREMIAH

The prophet Jeremiah was not a Jew. He was a native of the village of Anathoth in the tribe of Benjamin, which, according to legend, was descended

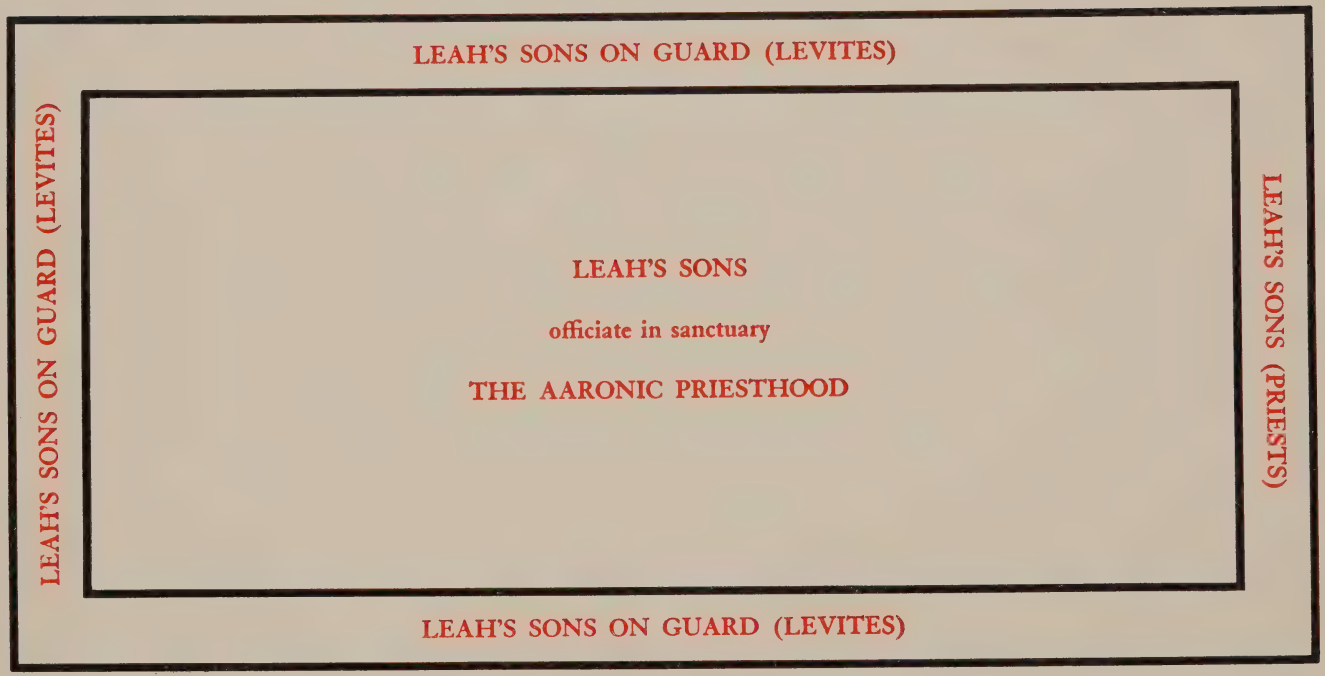
*Further details of analysis will be found in Appendix III.

from the younger son of Rachel and Jacob. The book of Jeremiah is the only prophetic writing with any reference to Rachel, the Ephraimite mother. The sympathies of Jeremiah were Ephraimite; and he declared that the Jewish capital, Jerusalem, did not have a single righteous man in it, the Jews being more sinful than the Ephraimites, the lost tribes of Israel: "And Jehovah said unto me, Backsliding Israel hath justified herself more than treacherous Judah" (Jer. 3:11).

Certain priestly scribes of the Jews, in the time of Jeremiah, brought out from the Temple a law book of sacrifices and offerings which they attributed to Jehovah but which was condemned by Jeremiah in terms applying also to "the Tabernacle in the Wilderness." The passages in question are as follows: "Thus saith Jehovah of hosts, the God of Israel, put your burnt offerings unto your sacrifices, and eat flesh. *For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, in the time when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices. . . . How do ye say, We are wise, and the Law of Jehovah is with us, But the false pen of the scribes worketh for falsehood*" (Jer. 7:21–22; 8:8).

North side of Tabernacle

"Camp of Dan" (157,600), Dan, Asher, Naphthali, sons of slave-women



West side of Tabernacle. Rear side. Back side. "Camp of Ephraim" (108,100) Rachel's sons: Manasseh, Ephraim, Benjamin

East side of Tabernacle. Front side "Toward sun-rising." LEAH'S SONS: JUDAH, ISSACHAR ZEBULUN "Camp of Judah" (186,400)

South side of Tabernacle

"Camp of Reuben" (151,450), LEAH'S SONS, REUBEN, SIMEON, with Gad, son of slave-woman

FEUD BETWEEN HEBREW PROPHETS AND HEBREW PRIESTS

The great prophets of Israel, whose names live in history, were against the priesthoods of Israel and Judah before the Babylonian Exile because the priests were usually on the side of heathen practices, even when they paid lip service to Jehovah. If Israel really had been given a law book in the wilderness by Jehovah (as the priests of Jerusalem claimed), it would have been known to such a prophet as Jeremiah. Although the prophets were necessary to the evolution of Israel toward the worship of One God, and although they were able to discredit the priests of Ephraim and Judah in the eyes of posterity, their influence, nevertheless, could not arrest the march of postexilic Judah toward centralized, priestly worship of Jehovah, expressed in written form.

III.

OUR JUDAIZED BIBLE

OLD TESTAMENT, OR HEBREW SCRIPTURES, NECESSARILY JUDAIZED

In approaching the crisis of belief today, therefore, one of the most important considerations which we must face is the fact that our Bible, in its origin, was not intended primarily for the human race at large, or even for a twelve-tribe Hebrew nation. That is to say, the Bible is not impartial either from the human standpoint or from the national Hebrew standpoint. It comes to us through the "bottleneck" of postexilic Jewish life and was compiled and created by the zealous industry of Jewish writers and editors in and long after the Babylonian Captivity, when the Hebrew nation had already passed away. The Bible has gone through a process of Judaization which not only involves the Old Testament in a direct way but which deeply and more impalpably affects the New Testament as an outgrowth of the Hebrew Scriptures.

PROBLEM BEFORE JEWS IN BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY

The Jews in exile were "displaced persons," uprooted from their native land against their will. They were strangers afloat in a bewildering epoch, something like today. Empires were collapsing; nations were dissolving; while the world resounded with war and rumors of war. The problem before the exiles was almost impossible. They writhed under the recollection of an arraignment by their own prophets more bitter than has ever been heaped upon any other people in history. And even in the Exile itself, the prophetic denunciation was hurled upon them by the great Ezekiel, who accompanied the refugees into Babylonia and who declared that Ephraim's capital, Samaria, had not committed half the sins of Jerusalem, the capital of Judah (Ezek. 16:51–52). The punishment threatened by the prophets had already swept Ephraim off the stage of history, and a heavy penalty was now being visited upon the captive Jews, who might also merge into the surrounding heathenism if extreme care were not taken. And therefore in the midst of their sufferings the leaders of the exiles were compelled to decide upon some policy that would hold the Jews together as a matter of sheer physical survival.

JEWISH MORALE IN DESPERATE NEED OF STIMULUS

The exigencies of the situation raised up a group of educated leaders and scribes – mostly unknown to posterity – who began to encourage their fellow captives and give new expression to the Jewish consciousness. These leaders developed a Jewish version, or interpretation, of Israel's past history in a form adapted to the needs and hopes of the Jewish remnant in and after the Captivity, and it was in this later epoch (we do not know just when) that our Judaized Bible was produced out of source materials inherited from the Hebrew past.

The most impressive illustration of the "Judaizing" process, of course, is "the Tabernacle in the Wilderness," which occupies a position at the psychological focus of the priestly writings in the Pentateuch, or Law. The creation of the Law, as it stands before us at the beginning of the Bible, may be described as the result of a struggle between the primary importance of Ephraim before the Babylonian Exile and the final consequence of Judah as the functional remnant of Israel *after* the disappearance of Ephraim from the stage of history.

The process by which the Bible was created as a Judaized literature was a legitimate stimulus to the morale of the Jews and the re-establishment of

Judah as an organized community in Palestine after the Exile. The evolution of the Judaized Hebrew Bible, or Old Testament, in this biased form cannot be judged from the standpoint of modern Judæo-Christian ethics and literary practice. The post-exilic Jews found themselves alone in the world, as the only "Israel" in existence, and it was but natural to imagine that the importance attaching to the Jews after the Captivity was nothing new and had existed in the centuries before the Exile. And so the scribes who created the Bible were the instruments by which the later importance of Judah was unhistorically projected back into the past.

The evolution of belief, with relation to the experience of the Hebrew nation as a whole, has been obscured and thrown out of its true focus by Jewish compilers and editors, who built the Bible out of earlier sources in such a way as to prevent both Jews and Christians from understanding Hebrew history as a logical process. The great leaders of Ephraim, such as Deborah, Gideon, Samuel, Saul, Elijah, Elisha, and Hosea, have been thought of as "Jews"; while Hebrew history as a whole is inaccurately spoken of as "Jewish" history; and the great facts of the Bible have been seen for twenty centuries without perspective in the order of time.

BELIEF NOT LINKED WITH OBJECTIVE ACCURACY OF BIBLE

Belief in God is not contingent upon the real or imaginary existence of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, nor upon the literal accuracy of the Jewish writers who produced the Bible. God's plan for the human race obviously does not include what is called an "infallible" volume of Scripture. The Bible is holy – but not in the sense of ancient orthodoxy among Jews and Christians. God is in the onrushing stream of experience which we call "history," but the Bible is a deposit, or collection, of "source material" telling in fragmentary and partial ways about history.

And moreover, the source materials in the Bible are, to a considerable degree, at variance with each other. The Bible, indeed, is not a single, unitary "book"; on the contrary, it is a literature composed of materials gradually accumulating through at least nine or ten centuries; and it was never brought into complete harmony by any central, authoritative "Board of Editors." That the Bible was composed in this way, however, is most fortunate for us because its nature and structure give us the means of understanding it as a fact of history. We have already seen, for example, the difference in stand-

point between the authors of the Tabernacle-narrative and the book of Jeremiah, and we shall find equally arresting material as we go further into the subject.

IV.

WILDERNESS BEGINNINGS

ISRAELITES ORIGINALLY DESERT CLANS WORSHIPING HEATHEN GODS

That the Israelites consisted originally of primitive, nomadic, pagan clans prior to their entrance into Canaan is the real starting point for any research into the concrete beginnings of our belief in God. And fortunately we possess an Ephraimite source that helps us to build up an authentic idea in place of the older dogma that has long usurped the perspective of early Bible history.

A remarkable picture of Israel's primitive past is contained in an address placed in the mouth of the Ephraimite chief Joshua. It is said to have been delivered to "all Israel," assembled at or near "Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim," after the tribes had left the wilderness and begun to live in Palestine. The address refers definitely to "the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the river [Euphrates] and in Egypt"; and the speaker goes on urging the people to abandon their heathen cults: "Now therefore put away the strange

gods *that are among you*" (Josh. 24:1, 2, 14, 23).

The Ephraimite source from which these words are taken is far earlier than the priestly narrative about the Tabernacle in the Wilderness. It knows that the worship of pagan deities began among the forefathers of Israel beyond the river Euphrates, that their heathen cults were carried into Egypt (i.e., Goshen), that these cults were practiced by the clans of Israel after they came out of Egypt, that they persisted all through the wanderings of Israel in the desert, and, finally, that the Hebrew nomads actually took their pagan gods with them into the land of Canaan.

PAGAN BACKGROUND OF HEBREW HISTORY

The inveterate, deep-rooted, heathen foundation of Hebrew life and history, from the wilderness to the Babylonian Exile, is evident in the books of all the prophets; while the monotonous denunciation of the Israelite masses, for "walking after other gods," hardly conceals the fact that Jehovah-worship is being slowly brought into connection with a new ideology evolving in the minds of the prophets as they proclaim the ethical significance of the events taking place around them. The pagan substratum of Hebrew religion obtrudes itself per-

sistently through the veil of that later and higher Jehovism which the postexilic editors and compilers of the Old Testament seek to cast over the pre-exilic history.

This higher ideal the scribes of the Pentateuch and the books of Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles endeavor to place at the beginning of Hebrew national history by projecting a matured conception into the dim past. The climax of their work is the picture of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, based upon the assumption that the One-God faith, instead of developing through the long process of Israel's history, was deposited miraculously at the outset of the national experience. The corollary of this assumption is that crude shepherds and cattlemen ought instantly to have crossed the psychological gulf between immemorial idolatry and an abruptly revealed, abstract, imageless monotheism.

CASUAL BEGINNINGS OF JEHOVAH-ISRAEL CONNECTION IN PAGAN ATMOSPHERE

That Israel's, or Ephraim's, relation to Jehovah began casually in the wilderness and was not at first regarded seriously by the mass of the people is clear when we get a realistic orientation upon

the sources of the Old Testament as a whole. The relationship arose originally in the wilderness and not in Egypt. Thus the Ephraimite prophet Hosea speaks for Jehovah, saying, "I found Israel like grapes in the wilderness" (Hos. 9:10). To like effect, an ancient Biblical poem speaks of Jehovah as finding Israel "in a desert land, in the waste, howling wilderness" (Deut. 32:10). The same picture is held up to view from another angle by the Ephraimite prophet Jeremiah, who speaks on behalf of Jehovah to Israel, saying, "Thou wentest after me in the wilderness, *in a land that was not sown*" (Jer. 2:2).

Although it is true that the prophets refer to Israel's traditional deliverance from "Egypt," it is important to observe that none of them speak in "orthodox" terms about the tradition; and moreover, their use of the name "Egypt" is not that of the later conventional orthodoxy. What the prophets refer to under this term is the wilderness district known as Goshen, a frontier land in the extreme northeast, beyond Egyptian territory proper and facing the desert. That a small clan, or group, under the name of Joseph lived here briefly cannot be denied. But Hebrew prophecy looked upon the return of this Joseph-group to its normal nomadism as being on a par with providential migrations of

all historic peoples: "Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, *and the Philistines from Kaphtor, and the Arameans from Kir?*" (Amos 9:7). According to this passage, Israel, in the eyes of Jehovah, is no more than the Ethiopians who lived in the south of Egypt (*ibid.*). That the migration from Egypt was already being used in too ritualistic a sense by the priestly party is clear from a little-noticed passage in Jeremiah: "Behold, the days come, saith Jehovah, that they shall no more say, As Jehovah liveth, who brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but, As Jehovah liveth, who brought up and led the house of Israel out of the north country," i.e., out of the Captivity in Babylon (Jer. 23:7, 8). As a matter of fact, the prophet was wrong here, since ritualistic Judaism has emphasized and built up the Egyptian tradition until it far overshadows the return from the Exile.

GOD SPEAKS TO ISRAEL THROUGH KINDNESS OF STRANGE CLAN

An old Ephraimite poem celebrates the heroism of a Kenite woman, Jael, who defended the cause of Jehovah against the enemies of Israel (Judg. 5:24–27). That this woman's people, the Kenites,

befriended Israel in the desert was remembered into the time of the first Ephraimite king, Saul, who went into the southern wilderness and spoke to this helpful clan as follows: "And Saul said to the Kenites, Ye showed kindness unto all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt" (I Sam. 15:6). But the Kenites are obscured, or blacked-out, under the enemy-name of Midianites by the compilers of the Pentateuch; so that this friendly people has made no strong impression upon the Jewish-Christian consciousness.*

One of the basic tenets of all primitive religion is that the acts of a clan — especially unusual acts — are inspired by the deity which they worship. And thus the helpfulness of the Kenites toward Israel was viewed literally as "mercy" shown by Jehovah their deity, speaking to Israel through the humanitarianism of these tent-dwellers in the wilderness, around the hill called "Horeb." But in course of time the Divine Mercy filled the foreground of Israel's memory while the friendly clan dropped into the shadows of the distant past; and the long succession of Hebrew prophets, taking their point of departure from the germinal idea of "mercy," developed the dramatic theme of Jehovah

*Wallis, "The Kenites in Bible History" and "The Midianite Cycle," *The Bible Is Human* (New York, 1942), pp. 250–255.

the Helper and Redeemer of Israel: "I taught Ephraim to walk, taking them in my arms" (Hos. 11:3). This is the prophecy of Hosea the Ephraimite, who uses the terms Israel and Ephraim synonymously.

The main filament of Hebrew history goes back to the legend of Ephraim, the younger son of Joseph, who obtained the birthright of Joseph's elder son Manasseh (Gen. 48:14–22). The lofty Biblical religion of Jehovah was not "adopted" from the Kenites of the wilderness, but it was providentially created through the ministry of the prophets, who took the germinal thought of "mercy" as their basic idea and built up from that in view of the actual experiences of the Hebrew people in the hills of Palestine during the days of the prophets themselves. The clan of "Joseph" looms through the mist as a historic reality, seeking refuge in Goshen. The other so-called sons or "tribes" of Israel are brought awkwardly into Egypt at a later period, while at the same time the underlying Ephraimite tradition is overlaid by an imposing mass of supernatural, priestly matter to pave the way for the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, glorifying Judah and the other "Leah-tribes" and subordinating the "Rachel-tribes," or Ephraimites.

OBSCURATION OF EXPERIENCE IN EGYPT

We have only to note carefully the basic narratives which place Israel in *Goshen,* where desert clans frequently take refuge: "Ye may dwell in the land of Goshen, for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians (Gen. 46:34). Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt—*in the land of Goshen*" (Gen. 47, *passim*). The Israelites in Goshen are viewed by the Ephraimite source as a very small people, served by only two midwives; and the story even gives the names of these women, Shiphrah and Puah (Exod. 1:15). A plague of flies occurs in Egypt proper, whereupon Jehovah says, "I will appoint the land of Goshen, *in which my people dwell,* that no swarms of flies shall be there" (Exod. 8:22). A storm of hail strikes Egypt proper, but "there was no hail in the land of Goshen *where the children of Israel were*" (Exod. 9:26).

ABRUPT EXPANSION OF STORY

The sources at this point are thrown into confusion by the interpolators and compilers in the Jewish "bottleneck" through which we get the Bible. The Israelites are now found living intimately among the Egyptians, in such close contact that

"every man shall borrow of his neighbor, and every woman of her neighbor, jewels of silver and jewels of gold. . . . And they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment" (Exod. 3:22; 11:2; 12:35–36). These borrowings are evidently intended by the compilers and editors to provide equipment for the sumptuous Tabernacle.

Having been thus plucked up suddenly from the frontier province of Goshen (without any notice to the reader of the Bible), and spread throughout Egypt proper, the Israelites are now settled in the midst of circumstances which give the necessary ground for the story of the "destroyer," whose errand is to slay all the first-born of Egypt at night but who cannot distinguish, in the darkness, between the closely packed houses of Egyptians and Israelites unless the houses of Israel are marked by lamb's blood smeared on the doorpost (Exod. 12:23). And thus the way is prepared for the legend and ritual of "Passover" by the same priestly school in which the Wilderness Tabernacle originated. Thus, the simple tradition of a desert clan taking refuge in a frontier province of Egypt is obscured and carried up into a realm of wonder where nothing is impossible. The Israelites are transformed into an immense army of more than

600,000 fighting men, accompanied by women and children, to make a nation of at least 2,000,000, which trails about in the desert forty years, carrying with it the "Tabernacle" served by 22,000 "sons of Levi."

JEHOVAH BROUGHT OUT OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSCURITY BY EPHRAIM

Jehovah, as an obscure deity of the Kenites, was unknown to the ancient world at large. But the rise of Ephraim, as a people and kingdom, during the period covered by the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, brought the name, or idea, of Jehovah out of primitive anthropological darkness and gave Jehovah the status of a national deity known to the peoples round about Israel.

The primary importance of Ephraim in Hebrew history and religion is emphasized by the prophet Jeremiah in the following passage: "Thus saith Jehovah, I am a father to Israel; *and Ephraim is my first-born*" (Jer. 31:9). That the birthright of the first-born really belonged to the Ephraimites, the sons of Joseph, is awkwardly admitted by a very late, postexilic Jewish writer, who makes the preposterous claim that the only reason the sons of Joseph had this right was that Reuben, a son of

Jacob's hated wife, Leah, "defiled his father's couch" (I Chron. 5:1–2). The term "first-born" was used by the Hebrews as the equivalent of "the beginning of dignity and strength" (Gen. 49:3; Deut. 21:17). This conception is illustrated by Jeremiah in saying that Israel (i.e., Ephraim) was "set apart into Jehovah, *the first-fruits of his increase*" (Jer. 2:3).

The Hebrew prophets knew nothing about the "orthodox" Jewish tradition, which took form only after the Babylonian Exile, being subsequently passed through the Synagogue to the Christian Church. This later ecclesiastical picture of Hebrew history dissolves in the cloudland of priestly fancy; whereupon the house of Ephraim, or Joseph, breaks through the smoke screen of natural and excusable Judaic jealousy and assumes its true place in the center of the historic Hebrew stage as the original Israel, around which our belief in God began to develop.

EVOLUTION OF JEHOVISM IN CANAAN

So far as the rank and file of the Hebrew people were concerned, the idea of Jehovah had only an indefinite, elusive, casual character at first, without being taken seriously. The blind masses were not

only obsessed by the gods their fathers worshiped beyond the river Euphrates and in Egypt, but they were also attracted strongly by the gods of Canaan. The age-long campaign of the prophets comes to a focus around the hostility of the wilderness deity Jehovah against Oriental metropolitan religion, which was identified with economic injustice and sexual corruption and which threatened the very existence of Israel in the Judges period and all the way along to the Babylonian Exile. The Jehovah-idea gradually took on clearer definition as it was elaborated by the prophets and other leaders upon the basis of Israel's experience in the land of Canaan. But the evolving prophetic ideal, to tell the truth, was always above the popular level. In other words, the prophets made more out of the wilderness tradition than the masses of the people were able to digest; and by enhancing the moral values of the primitive clan conscience in reaction against the implacable pressure of sophisticated, metropolitan Baalism, they unwittingly became the creators of that elevated spiritual faith which underlies both Judaism and Christianity.

That an Ephraimite by the name of Moses, or "Mosheh," was a factor in the association between Israel and the Kenites may well be the case. But the orthodox figure of Moses vanishes in the dis-

solution of the Wilderness Tabernacle. And by overemphasizing the Mosaic legend, both Synagogue and Church have largely missed the tremendous moral and spiritual value of the evolution of belief that took place in Palestine under the tutelage of the prophets. That the Will and Character of God were in the history of Israel at all times is an article of religious faith possessing far more value and reason than the mechanical orthodoxy that is now fading out of the modern consciousness. The development of the Jehovah-ideology was the channel through which the human mind passed upward from heathenism to the higher apprehension of God as the Lord of History.

V.

JEHOVAH AGAINST METROPOLITAN CORRUPTION

BIG ORIENTAL CITIES ALWAYS OPPRESSIVE TO PEASANTRY AND NOMADS

The big metropolitan centers of the ancient East were always corrupt. They did not seek the welfare of the masses. They were full of scheming cliques and factions which wanted not only to enslave the native population but also to conquer other countries by force of arms. This is the story of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and other great Oriental powers mentioned in the Bible; and when we carefully study the books of the Hebrew prophets, we can see that it is also, to a large extent, the story of Israel as dominated by Jerusalem and other walled cities in Palestine. Such being the case, it was only natural that the peasantry in the villages and the nomads in the wilderness always looked with disapproval upon the metropolitan centers.

The roving clan is bound together by its need for defense against other clans as well as against wild animals, and thus the conditions of nomadic existence beget a strong social sense that runs through the clan's entire life. When clans leave the wilderness and settle upon the soil, as the Israelites did, they become villagers, or peasants, although they are still organized in a modified clan fashion, retaining much of the social sense that marks the primitive roving group. The effect of big-city rule, on the other hand, was to break up the clan organization of the country people, destroy their social sense of life, and regiment the rural folk as farm slaves and conscripts for the armies.

RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN ISRAEL BASED UPON THE ANTITHESIS BETWEEN BIG CITIES AND RURAL CLANS

The gods of the metropolitan centers reflected the standpoint of the city ruling class. The huge temples and images of these gods were calculated to impress and overawe the beholder. We must bear in mind that Jehovah, on the contrary, was a deity worshiped at first by nomads and then by villagers. The religious antithesis, which thus comes into view, underlies the Bible and is based upon the original contrast between Jehovah, as a deity of

primitive clan life, and the Baal-gods of sophisticated Oriental civilization.*

SITUATION COMPLICATED

The story of Israel's religion, however, is not quite so simple as it thus appears to be at first glance. One reason is that when the Israelites entered Canaan their connection with Jehovah was very recent. These primitive clans of shepherds and cattlemen, as we have seen, still had their own gods, inherited from pagan antiquity; and the evidence proves that the mass of the people took the idea of Jehovah in a very casual way.

Another complication is that the so-called "conquest" of Canaan was not nearly so absolute and overwhelming as it is represented to be by some schools of Biblical editors and compilers. The idea that Canaan was wholly swept clean of its former inhabitants and then divided by lot among twelve tribes of newcomers is commonly held by both Jews and Christians. But this picture is found only in the later Biblical manuscripts or sources; other sources in the Bible give a different outlook on the history. One of the older narratives tells the story

*The contrast is more fully described in the writer's *Sociological Study of the Bible* (Chicago, 1912), chap. x, and *The Bible Is Human*, pp. 31 ff.

as follows: "The children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites; and they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their daughters to their sons, and served their gods" (Judg. 3:5–6). The older parts of the Bible are simpler and more accurate than the later parts, which have been placed by the editors in salient positions where they command first attention and control the reader's perspective.

A striking example of the way Hebrew history has been thus treated is found in the case of Jerusalem. This famous Oriental city has been supposed, by both Jews and Christians, to have been a wholly Israelite, or Hebrew, place. But as a matter of fact, if we examine all the Biblical sources carefully, we find that Jerusalem was an unconquered Canaanite, or Amorite, walled city from the time of Israel's entrance into Canaan, straight along through the history. And so the prophet Ezekiel writes: "The word of Jehovah came unto me, saying, Cause Jerusalem to know her abominations: Thy birth and thy nativity are of the land of Canaan. Thy father was Amorite, and thy mother an Hittite" (Ezek. 16:2–3). The city was called Jebus before the clans of Israel entered Canaan, and so its inhabitants were known as Jebusites. An

interesting glimpse at the facts is given by the following very old source: "As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day" (Josh. 15:63). The Jebusites, indeed, were one branch of the ancient pre-Hebrew population referred to as having been intermarried with the invading Isaelites (*supra,* Judg. 3:5–6).

As the real facts thus come before us, we begin to get a clearer view of the underlying logic of Hebrew history. The corrupt old city of Jebus, or Jerusalem, became the headquarters of David and the capital of Israel. But the dynasty of David, influenced by Oriental metropolitanism, conscripted the Hebrew people into the army and also compelled them to serve in labor gangs for the purpose of constructing huge palaces and other buildings at the capital. The Davidic dynasty, therefore, was in the attitude of taking the people away from the primitive social ideals of brotherhood and justice represented by the wilderness deity Jehovah. The bulk of the Hebrew people were *Ephraimites,* among whom the original monarchy of Israel had arisen under the leadership of King Saul and the prophet Samuel. And so we begin to see the revolt of "Israel" against David and his dynasty at Jerusa-

lem in its true character, as the rebellion of Ephraim against Judah. And this rebellion was not only a popular, democratic movement, but was also a religious event, as we are told in a little-noticed source which declares that "the cause was from Jehovah, that he might perform his saying, which Jehovah spake by [the mouth of the Ephraimite prophet] Ahijah" (I Kings 12:15).

Study of these facts puts us in a position where we can begin to comprehend in more detail the significance of Ephraim, and where we can see more clearly the operation of the psychological forces that led the scribes of Judah, after the Babylonian Captivity, to devise the intensely anti-Ephraimite picture of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness.

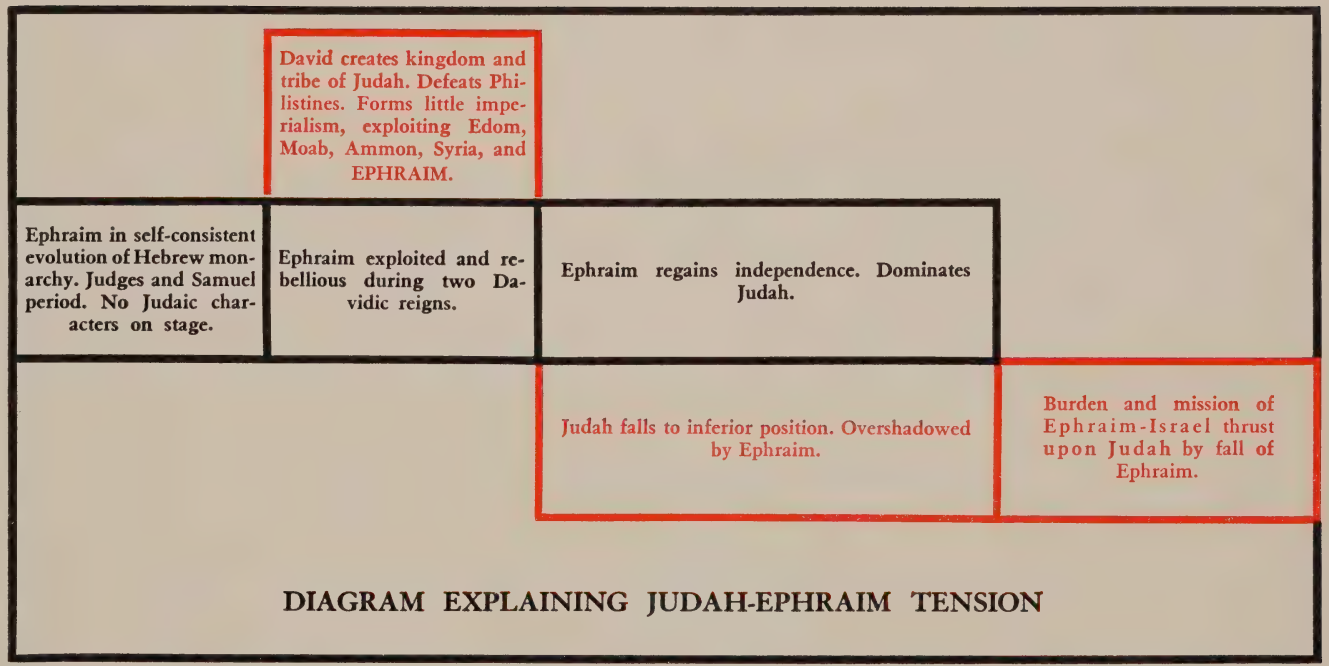

David creates kingdom and tribe of Judah. Defeats Philistines. Forms little imperialism, exploiting Edom, Moab, Ammon, Syria, and EPHRAIM.
Ephraim in self-consistent evolution of Hebrew monarchy. Judges and Samuel period. No Judaic characters on stage.
Ephraim exploited and rebellious during two Davidic reigns.
Ephraim regains independence. Dominates Judah.
Judah falls to inferior position. Overshadowed by Ephraim.
Burden and mission of Ephraim-Israel thrust upon Judah by fall of Ephraim.

DIAGRAM EXPLAINING JUDAH-EPHRAIM TENSION

VI.

EPHRAIM CENTRAL IN HEBREW HISTORY

EPHRAIM THE ORIGINAL ISRAEL

That the bulk of the historic Hebrew people was in the central hills of Canaan and that the original Israel was, indeed, Ephraim, or Joseph, is evident from our investigation thus far. The general position was recognized by Wellhausen, who, however, did not grasp its full significance: "The kingdom which bore the name of Israel," he writes, "was actually, in point of fact in the olden time, the proper Israel; and Judah was merely a kind of appendage to it."* That Judah was unknown from the entrance of Israel into Canaan until the time of David is noticed by Pfeiffer.†

EPHRAIM'S EARLY EVOLUTION IN CANAAN AS TREATED BY JUDGES

The book of Judges, as it now stands in the Bible, has been through the hands of several successive

*Wellhausen, op. cit., chap. vi, p. 188.
†Pfeiffer, *Introduction,* p. 786.

Judaic editors, or schools of redactors. Its basic material, however, is not Jewish but Ephraimite; and there are no outstanding Jewish characters in the picture.

The relation between the mass of the people and the idea of Jehovah, at that period, was very distant and casual. This was due, first of all, to the recency of Jehovah-worship in Israel; in the second place, it was a direct result of the incomplete conquest of Canaan, which led to intermingling of the newcomers and the older inhabitants. Thus, the gods of Canaan and the gods which Ephraim brought into the highlands went along together in the stream of history. That the worship of "other gods," both imported and native, was a declension, or falling away, from some previous regime of Jehovah-worship is merely an idea of the editors and compilers who have given us the book of Judges and who did not grasp the earlier history.

THREE CLAN-MASSES IN CENTRAL CANAAN

The Judges period brings into relief three masses of clans: (1) In the northern part of the central highlands, the oldest group (which settled the country first) was known as Manasseh, identified in the legends of Genesis as the elder son of Joseph (Gen. 48:13–14; cf. Judg. 5:14). Farther south came

the clans which were said to be descended from Joseph's younger son, Ephraim (Gen., *loc. cit.*, Judg. 8:1; 12:1). And below these, in the southernmost part of the central hills, was an important group known as Benjamin, said to be derived from Rachel's younger son of that name (Gen. 35:16–19; cf. Judg. 3:15). These three communities, or "tribes," are precisely the ones that appear on the west, or back, side of "the Tabernacle in the Wilderness," in the least honorable place (*vide supra,* chap. ii, p. 23).

PARTS PLAYED BY THESE CLAN MASSES

The Manassites were established in villages overlooking the ancient, pre-Hebrew walled city of Shechem, which was inhabited by Baal-worshiping Amorite merchants and landholders, who ruled the territory round about (Judg. 8:30–32; cf. Gen. 33:18, 19; 34, *passim*). The Manassite settlers, in fact, occupied a very dangerous position, where they were likely to be engulfed in the near-by regime of Baalism and lost to Israel. That this was a very real peril is made clear when we learn that the Canaanite religion actually took root in the hills above Shechem, where the Manassite village of Ophrah became headquarters of Baalism to such an extent that the worship of Jehovah was literally

driven underground. But the Hebrew clans were saved from this fate by the peasant Gideon, who destroyed the local Baal-altar at midnight and rebuilt the altar of Jehovah (Judg. 6:11–32). The situation remained precarious, however, as long as the city of Shechem itself continued in existence; and only when this pre-Hebrew hotbed of corruption was destroyed with fire and sword was the Israelite conquest of north-central Canaan complete (Judg. 9:1–57; cf. Gen. 34:1–31).

Passing temporarily over the Ephraimite clans, we turn to the south-central hills, where the group known as Benjamin was located. The capital of Benjamin was a village called Gibeah (Judg. 19, *passim*). This place was very corrupt, lying only a short walk from the old, pre-Hebrew fortified city of Jebus, or Jerusalem, a center of depravity located about a half hour's distance over the southern frontier of Benjamin. The prophet Ezekiel, after emphasizing the Canaanite origin of Jerusalem, compares its wickedness with that of Sodom (Ezek. 16:1–3, 45–50). The deadly and striking similarity between the outrageous conditions in Sodom and Gibeah may be observed by comparing Genesis 19:1–8 and Judges 19:22–24. Signal vengeance upon the Benjaminites was taken by Ephraimite clans in a bloody uprising, equal in horror to that

which had wiped out the city of Shechem (Judg. 20).

The clan-mass of Ephraim lay between Manasseh on the north and Benjamin on the south, being protected, so to speak, from the corrupt influence of Canaanite Shechem on the one side and from the baleful influence of Canaanite Jerusalem on the other (Judg. 17:1 ff.). High-spirited and high-tempered, the Ephraimites rebuked Gideon for not calling them into the fight against marauders from the desert (Judg. 8:1; cf. 12:1). The increasing importance of Ephraim is manifest in the well-known source that refers to "the thousands of Manasseh and the ten thousands of Ephraim" (Deut. 33:17). The same situation is reflected by the legendary blessing wherein Jacob sets Ephraim before Manasseh (Gen. 48:20). And as we cross the gulf that lies between the books of Judges and Samuel, it is clear that the name of Ephraim has been impressed upon the entire central highlands, which are to be known thenceforth as "the hill country of Ephraim."

"FIRST-BORN OF JEHOVAH" (JER. 31:9)

Through the sharp surgery of the sword in Manasseh and in Benjamin, a little highland na-

tion, identified with the name of a single deity, Jehovah, had now arisen on the stage of human affairs; and it was temporarily free to develop as a primitive clan-folk, following the brotherhood ideology of wilderness nomads but within the protective and settled seclusion of the central Canaanite hills, twenty-five hundred feet above the sea.

If these clans, when leaving the wilderness, had settled in a flat country, they would have been promptly overwhelmed by military power, operating from a strong city and maneuvering on a horizontal plane. But for the time being, at this particular moment in world affairs, the highlands of Canaan gave transient security for the rise of a political organization which, while fixed and stationary, was able to practice nomadic idealism contrary to the depraved customs of Oriental metropolitanism. Heathen Shechem was wiped out, whereas the purge of Benjamin had sealed off heathen Jerusalem below the southern frontier. Nothing like this had ever happened before in the religious history of the world.

EPHRAIM, CONQUERED BY PHILISTINES, RELEASED BY DAVID

The rise of monarchy in Ephraim, under Saul the Benjaminite, was the direct outcome of attack

by the Philistines, whose headquarters were down on the seacoast in walled cities. These enemies were beaten back and held off about fifteen years, but they at length conquered the hills of Ephraim. An interregnum now ensued, while David, a non-Ephraimite, southern chieftain operating beyond the frontier of Israel, built the kingdom and tribe of Judah out of scattered clans in the south. David occupied the pagan city of Jerusalem as his capital but without exterminating its non-Hebrew population. We have already seen that, "as for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day" (Josh. 15:63). By thus consolidating the southern clans and then by reaching an agreement with Ephraim, David was able to raise an army powerful enough to drive the Philistines back upon the seacoast and set the highlands free.

OPPRESSION OF EPHRAIM BY JERUSALEM, ALLIED WITH PHOENICIAN TYRE

But the deliverance of Ephraim was quickly obscured by the policy of David, who made an alliance with Tyre, the great Phœnician city, and then set out upon a career of conquest by subjugating

near-by nations and oppressing Ephraim. The result was inevitable: "A man of Mount Ephraim, Sheba the son of Bichri by name, lifted up his hand against David . . . and he blew a trumpet, and said, we have no part in David . . . every man to his tents, O Israel. . . . So every man of Israel went up from after David, and followed Sheba. . . . But the men of Judah clave unto their king" (II Sam. 20:1, 2, 21).

The first revolt of Ephraim was crushed by David's military force, and his power was passed on to a son, who drafted the Ephraimites into labor-gangs to construct a series of great palaces and public buildings in Jerusalem. Conditions became even more hopeless than during David's reign; and when this new king died, his son and successor, instead of promising relief to the Ephraimites, declared that he would be even more oppressive: "Whereas, my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke." The second rebellion of Ephraim is reported in almost the same terms as the first: "What portion have we in David? To your tents, O Israel! So Israel rebelled against the house of David to this day. There was none that followed the house of David but the tribe of Judah only" (I Kings, 12:14–20).

SIGNIFICANCE OF EPHRAIMITE REVOLT

What the Davidic dynasty did was to build up a new kingdom, on the model of Oriental imperialism, like that of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, which enslaved the Ephraimites within the framework of a totalitarian regime contrary to the ideals of clan-brotherhood that had been generalized under such leaders as Gideon, Samuel, and Saul prior to the rise of David.

During the terrible period of Davidic rule, the primitive wilderness ideology, symbolized by the name of Jehovah, was kept alive in Ephraim by the activities of a few leaders like the prophet Ahijah, whose home was in Shiloh, the old religious capital of Ephraim, where the prophet Samuel had once lived. Ahijah, as a continuator of Samuel, has been so obscured by the editorial arrangement of the source material that his personality has been practically lost to view. An old notice, tucked away inconspicuously in a literary corner, declares that the rebellion of Ephraim against the dynasty of Judah was the work of Jehovah: "The *cause* was from Jehovah, that he might perform *his saying*, which Jehovah spake by Ahijah of Shiloh" (I Kings 12:15).

Since religion and politics were closely bound up

in that epoch of history, the Davidic rule, in practical effect, was rapidly putting Jehovah into the same category with the gods of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon. The revolt of Ephraim, led by Ahijah, brought the primitive Jehovah of shepherds and farmers into conflict with a more sophisticated, metropolitan Jehovah of Jerusalem, and enabled Ephraim to resume its own proper evolution.*

MISUNDERSTANDING OF JERUSALEM, GLORIFIED BY POSTEXILIC SCRIBES, BY POSTERITY

We have seen that the prophet Ezekiel emphasizes the Canaanite origin of Jerusalem. One side of its ancestry was Amorite and the other Hittite (Ezek. 16:2–3). The earlier Jebusite population was not massacred by David, but "the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem" (Josh. 15:63). The Jebusites and other pre-Hebrew elements intermarried with Israel (Judg. 3:5–6). This custom was followed by David, who stole the wife of a Hittite citizen of Jerusalem, procured the murder of her husband, and made her the mother of his successor (II Sam. 11). That the city did not contain a single just man in the days of Jeremiah was declared by that prophet, in the name of

*Cf. Wallis, *God and the Social Process* (Chicago, 1935), and *The Bible Is Human, passim.*

Jehovah (Jer. 5:1). That the city killed the Hebrew prophets and stoned those that were sent unto her is attested by another source (Luke 13:34).

In the light of such facts the revolt of Ephraim is even more intelligible. But in retrospect the growth of Judaic feeling against the house of Joseph for breaking up the kingdom of David is perfectly natural, and we can trace its beginnings even in so good a man as the great prophet Isaiah, who lived in Jerusalem and who speaks resentfully of "the day that Ephraim departed from Judah" (Isa. 7:17).

RESUMPTION OF TRUE ROLE BY EPHRAIM

The psychological reaction of Ephraim against the conduct of David in the matter of Bathsheba becomes outstanding in the legend which pictures Joseph, the father of Ephraim, declaring when tempted by Potiphar's wife, "How can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?" (Gen. 39:9).* The same lesson is also taught in another place by the E-source, where the Deity himself is quoted as denouncing adultery as a sin against God

*The J document in Genesis is composed mostly of Ephraimite (E) material, taken over by the Judaic scribes to stress Judah as the spokesman of the Hebrews (Gen. 44:14–34). The Ephraimite source is earlier than J. (See Appendix VI.)

(Gen. 20). That the reactionary influence of pagan Jerusalem was potent in southern Canaan and that the Hebrew conscience found its early training in the central highlands will become clear as the story unfolds.

PREPARATION FOR MINISTRIES OF ELIJAH AND HOSEA BY EPHRAIM

In the quiet renaissance of Ephraim, after the separation from Judah, a swarming population of clansfolk remained for several decades protected against the pervasive infection of Oriental metropolitanism. But presently a new menace arose, far over the northeastern horizon. The imperial might of Assyria, with its capital in the great city of Nineveh, was moving westward, and so the people of Ephraim divided into two parties over the question of isolationism versus co-operation with neighboring states against the common danger.

A civil war placed on the throne a ruler named Omri, who built a strong walled city, Samaria, in the very center of Ephraim. The next king, Ahab, son of Omri, made an alliance with the Baal-worshiping Phœnician cities of Tyre and Sidon against Assyria; and this new phase of Hebrew policy was confirmed by the marriage of Ahab with a Phœnician princess, Jezebel (I Kings 16:21 ff.). The

policy of David was, in fact, being followed in a different form; and whether or not the simple Ephraimite peasants realized the situation, their control over the government of Ephraim, which they had regained by rebellion against Jerusalem, was now lost.

Scarcely had Ahab's foreign queen taken up residence in Samaria when a temple to the Phœnician Baal began to rise within the strong walls of Ephraim's new capital; priests of Baal came trooping up into the highlands to serve in the new sanctuary; and at the same time prophets of Baal came also, to spread propaganda for the alliance against Assyria.

REVIVAL OF JEHOVAH-PROPHECY IN EPHRAIM

Hebrew prophetism instantly revived in Ephraim; and soon the foreign queen, recognizing the essential factors of the situation, took the law into her own hands, brushed aside the helpless King, and sent out emissaries from the capital, who began to murder the prophets of Jehovah.

The policy of Jezebel raised up influential opponents, among whom was Obadiah, the governor of the royal palace: "Now Obadiah feared Jehovah greatly; for it came to pass, when Jezebel was mur-

dering the prophets of Jehovah, that Obadiah took a hundred prophets and hid them by fifties in a cave, and fed them with bread and water" (I Kings 18:13).

THE PROPHET ELIJAH BROUGHT INTO LIMELIGHT BY THE TRAGEDY OF NABOTH

About this time King Ahab tried to buy some land from a peasant, Naboth, who refused in the name of Jehovah, making use of a profane expression not translated in English Bibles. The country people believed that the soil should remain in possession of clanships and households without being sold. But Jezebel, who came from a great commercial city, was enraged and sent sealed letters, in the King's name, to the judges of the village where Naboth lived. The poor man was at once found guilty of profaning God and the King and, with his two sons, was promptly executed by stoning (I Kings 21:13; II Kings 9:26). Naboth's land was then seized in the name of the King.

PROPHET ELIJAH AND EVOLUTION TOWARD OFFICIAL MONOTHEISM

The case of Naboth became personal to every peasant in Ephraim and brought into action the great prophet Elijah, who lived in the distant Ephra-

imite province of Gilead, east of Jordan and on the edge of the wilderness. This gigantic personality brings into relief the essential impulse of the primitive Jehovah-cult as expressing the brotherhood ideology of the desert clan transplanted into the shelter of the Canaanite hills.

Elijah secretly crossed the Jordan and organized an "underground" movement, the aim of which was literally to annihilate the house of Ahab, enthrone a reform-dynasty, and make *official* the doctrine that Jehovah alone was the deity which Israel-Ephraim should worship. Elijah, whose name is plowed into the ages, became the very symbol of what was eventually to be "The First Commandment," i.e., "I am Jehovah thy God; and thou shalt have no other gods beside me," as, e.g., the Baal-temple of Phœnicia was beside, or near the temple of Jehovah in the Ephraimite capital city. The commandments were gradually evolved, under the providence of God, through the agony of Ephraim's experience in Canaan, instead of being thundered from a desert mountain along with a blueprint of "The Tabernacle in the Wilderness."

MONOTHEISM OFFICIALLY DEFINITIVE

A blood-purge, led by a Hebrew army officer, exterminated the entire family of Ahab, slew all

the priests and prophets of Baal, destroyed the Baal-temple in the capital of Ephraim, and put the militant leader of the insurrection upon the throne. The establishment of Jehovism as an explicit, official tenet, or dogma, lifted the Ephraimite State for the first time above the plane of contemporary heathen religion. The worship of Jehovah became an ingrained habit of religious life among unknown thousands who had not bowed the knee to Baal (I Kings 19:18); and thus Ephraim reached a point where it could furnish an audience for the still higher prophecies of Amos and Hosea.

DISINTEGRATION OF EPHRAIM, DRAWN INTO WORLD POLITICS

The clansmen of Ephraim were increasingly conscripted into the Hebrew army to fight for causes that the rank and file could not clearly envisage. Large numbers were disabled or slain in battle; the productive power of the agricultural clanships was reduced, while the rising tide of war and poverty depressed the life of the people below the plane of earlier normal standards in the central hill country.

Breakdown of the clan-brotherhood system left the population confronting a dangerous economic problem without the slightest cultural equipment

for handling the questions of the day. The growth of a new and vicious regime is disclosed by the story of a widow in distress, who appealed to the prophet Elisha, the successor of Elijah: "My husband is dead; and thou knowest that he feared Jehovah; and the creditor is come, to take unto him my two sons to be slaves" (II Kings 4:1). Thus, in the century following Elijah, the farmers and shepherds of Ephraim fell into slavery and found themselves on the economic level of the lower classes throughout the ancient East; while, at the same time, a professional creditor-class arose, with its headquarters at Samaria; and this opulent Hebrew aristocracy absorbed the lands of the villagers.

EPHRAIM'S DOOM AS PRONOUNCED BY AMOS AND HOSEA

The fascinating little books of Amos and Hosea deal with Ephraim in decline. They stand upon the primitive clan-ethics of Jehovah, in reaction against the ideas and practices of the Oriental metropolitan civilization that had insidiously made its way into the social system of Ephraim. Their outstanding object of animosity is the nation's capital, where the fortunate few, profiting from the misfortunes of the clansfolk in the open country, found free-

dom and ease within the shelter of stout walls and strongly built palaces.

Ephraim, which had overthrown the walled city of Shechem in its midst and had rejected the rule of Jerusalem, found itself under bondage to its own capital. The reaction between sophisticated civilization and the brotherhood-ethics of the rural clan drove the prophets into deep search, away from the immediate facts of life and below the sordid commonplaces of their day. The very insolubility of Ephraim's problem prepared the ground for a new spiritual vision.

The prophet Amos was not an Ephraimite but a shepherd from the wild country of eastern Judah: "Jehovah said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel. . . . They have sold the righteous for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes" (Amos 2:6–8; 7:14–15). The same picture of conditions is given by the Ephraimite prophet Hosea: "Thus saith Jehovah, Ephraim is oppressed. He is broken in judgment. . . . I desire mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings" (Hos. 5:11; 6:6). Corruption had become so deep-seated and flagrant that these prophets foretold the doom of exile as the deserved fate of the nation: "Israel shall surely go into captivity out of his land" (Amos 7:17). "Samaria shall be-

come desolate; for she hath rebelled against her God: they shall fall by the sword" (Hos. 13:16).

A solemn turning point in the life of Israel and in the spiritual history of mankind was reached when the army of Assyria came up into the central highlands, besieged the city of Samaria, and carried most of its people into captivity forever, while filling the country with colonists from other lands.

Two outstanding points in the ideology of Amos and Hosea call for notice as we turn away from Ephraim: (1) the social sense of God, who not only desires personal righteousness but whose providence extends to the pattern of the State itself, and (2) the correlative disregard of mere priestly sacrifice and offering as a factor in religion.

"Jehovah was very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his sight. There was none left but the tribe of Judah only" (II Kings 17:5, 6, 18).

VII.

JUDAH REPEATS EPHRAIM'S TRAGEDY

PRE-EXILIC JUDAH WORSE THAN EPHRAIM, ACCORDING TO PROPHETS

Turning from the fall of Ephraim and going into southern Palestine, we find conditions even worse in Judah. Comparing Samaria, the capital of Ephraim, with Jerusalem, the capital of Judah, the prophet Ezekiel says, "Thus saith Jehovah unto Jerusalem: Samaria hath not committed half thy sins!" (Ezek. 16:3, 51). And likewise, the prophet Jeremiah declares, "Jehovah said unto me, Backsliding Israel hath justified herself more than treacherous Judah!" (Jer. 3:11; 7:15).

JERUSALEM SEAT OF PAGAN INFECTION

Jerusalem was full of Baal worship long before the city was occupied by David, and the Baalistic infection soon involved the Davidic dynasty itself (I Kings 11:5–8). The city had a Baal temple, together with a priest of Baal, after the Ephraimites broke away from Judah (II Kings 11). On this

occasion the priests of Jehovah in Jerusalem roused the clans on the hills outside the capital, and the country people came pouring into the city to destroy the sanctuary of Baal and slay the priest of this foreign god (*ibid.*, vss. 17–18). Later on, King Manasseh "raised up altars for Baal, and did wickedly above all that the Amorites did, which were before him" (II Kings 21:1, 11).

That the city was originally Amorite before being taken into the kingdom of Judah and that its population fused with the invaders is well known to many of the Biblical sources but ignored by others. The repeated outbreaks of Baalism in Jerusalem are not strange, then, in view of the city's essentially Canaanite character and the strong infusion of non-Hebrew blood that it gave to the Jewish people. A Jew who committed some sin was reproached by saying, "O thou seed of Canaan and not of Judah!"* The Jews of that general epoch knew that they were not "line-bred," but this important ethnogenic fact slipped out of memory in later times.

We must therefore observe clearly that Judah evolved at the point of assimilation between pagan, Amorite Jerusalem and primitive, pastoral clans in the open country. The Jewish mentality in conse-

**Apocrypha,* Sus., vs. 56.

quence took on a richer and more complex character than that of provincial Ephraim, and this tendency was heightened by the cosmopolitan experiences that the Jewish people went through in the Babylonian Exile and under the Persian, Greek, and Roman empires in the postexilic centuries.*

The heathen, pro-Baal tendency of Jerusalem was combated by the rise of a pro-Jehovah party at the capital, an element which was always able to enlist the help of the rural clans against the wealthy exploiters in Jerusalem.

SOCIAL INJUSTICE OF JEWISH PAGANISM

The government of Judah, down to the Babylonian Exile, was for the most part in the hands of a wealthy Amorite-Jewish element, whose Baalism, like that of Ephraim, was identified with oppression of the peasantry. The upper classes of Jerusalem, according to the prophet Isaiah, foreclosed on the fields of the shepherds in the open country. "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field" (Isa. 5:8). And, likewise, the prophet

*The pastoral clans outside of Jerusalem were Semitic, like the Ephraimites; these clans appear to have been Edomite in origin, deriving their worship of Jehovah from the Kenites in the Negeb, or southern desert; whereas, on the other hand, the Ephraimites, after coming into touch with the Kenites, made the circuit of Edom and the Dead Sea and entered Canaan from the east.

Micah, who lived in the hills of western Judah, adds his testimony: "They covet fields, and seize them by violence; and houses, and take them away; and they oppress a man and his family, even a man and his heritage" (Mic. 2:2).

All the Hebrew prophets, Jewish and Ephraimite alike, denounce economic injustice along with condemnation of worshiping "other gods." The two things, instead of being separate subjects, are closely bound up. "Other gods" are attacked by the prophets, not upon the philosophic ground that they have "no existence," but for the very concrete reason that their worship is inextricably identified with economic injustice and various forms of immorality.

ANTI-BAAL REFORMATION OF KING JOSIAH LARGELY ECONOMIC

Toward the close of the pre-exilic period, an anti-Baal reformation took place under King Josiah, whose regime is praised by the prophet Jeremiah as follows: "He did judgment and justice. He judged the cause of the poor and needy." The prophet then goes on to ask in the name of Jehovah, "Was not this to know me? saith Jehovah" (Jer. 22:15, 16). In the same category is the prophecy of Hosea, quoted in the preceding chapter, "I de-

sire knowledge of God more than burnt offerings" (Hos. 6:6).

HARMONY OF HEBREW PROPHECY

The prophecies of Isaiah and Micah take their place in the harmonious perspective of higher Hebrew thought, as viewed from the standpoint of the great social forces that, under Providence, created the monotheistic religion of the Bible. That the King would unjustly seize the lands of the people is foretold in a passage credited to the Ephraimite prophet Samuel: "He will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, and give them to his nobles" (I Sam. 8:14).* King Saul predicted likewise that David would seize land for his courtiers (I Sam. 22:7), and the seizure of lands in Ephraim for two of David's men was necessarily among the causes leading to the first Ephraimite revolt in David's lifetime (II Sam. 13:23–29, and 14:30–31). The question of the land was among the outstanding preoccupations of Ezekiel in the Babylonian Exile, as he surveyed the troubled past and looked forward into the future that was to come after the return from captivity: "And

*A "Deuteronomic" interpolation, but just as good evidence as if Samuel actually spoke the passage.

Jehovah said unto me . . . My princes shall no more oppress my people; but they shall give the land to the house of Israel according to their tribes" (Ezek. 45:8).

REVERSION TO BAALISM FOLLOWED BY BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY

After the death of Josiah the heathen faction at Jerusalem regained power and restored the Baal pattern of life. The terrible conditions of that period are dealt with by the book of Jeremiah, and the final tragedy of pre-exilic Judah is told by the second book of Kings in terms like those used with reference to the doom of Ephraim.

"Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon came, he and all his host against Jerusalem. . . . And the city was besieged . . . and broken up . . . and he burnt the house of Jehovah, and the king's house, and all the houses . . . and every great man's house . . . and brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about" (II Kings 25).

Thus the two Hebrew capitals lay desolate. The ruins of Samaria were already more than a hundred years old, and now Jerusalem likewise became a ghostly memory. Ephraim had vanished forever, and Judah was carried away into the great Baby-

lonian Captivity. A bird's-eye view of Palestine at that moment would have been most impressive and solemn, since all this desolation had been predicted by the Hebrew prophets of both kingdoms as God's punishment upon Israel for the sin of idolatry and injustice.

VIII.

JUDAH AND THE PRIESTLY REGIME

RETURN OF THE JEWS FROM EXILE; RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE

When Jerusalem was destroyed and the Jews went into exile, the first effect of the catastrophe was one of bewilderment among the masses; while at the same time the leaders of the people had to undergo a long course of discipline before they could prepare constructively for the future. The Babylonian conquerors of Judah were themselves conquered by the Persians about fifty years later, and the new masters of the Jews thereupon permitted many of the exiles to return home. The rebuilding of the Temple required about twenty years' work.

ONE GOD, ONE TEMPLE

The Jews did not as yet have any official Bible except a little scroll that had been used shortly be-

fore the Captivity as the formula for Josiah's reformation, which followed the example of Elijah in putting down Baalism and exalting Jehovah to the officially supreme place in Israel's religion. Josiah had swept away the altars of the country villages for the first time in Hebrew history and had made the Temple on Mount Zion the one legal place of worship. The sanctuary at Jerusalem was only a royal chapel before the reign of Josiah, and the work of his administration had an important part in concentrating the Jewish mind upon One Temple and One God.*

The reformation of Josiah before the Exile, and the quick rebuilding of the Temple as soon as the Jews returned from the Exile, suggest that the work of Hebrew prophecy had, in some way, to be combined with emphasis upon the priestly element in religion. Prophecy would have evaporated in the realm of idealism, at that epoch of human experience, if the prophetic thought had not been associated with an objective, cultic system for carrying it into the future.

*The little scroll used by Josiah was an early form of Deuteronomy, which now stands as the fifth and last book of the Law. Deuteronomy, however, as we shall presently see, is out of line with the rest of the Law, since it makes no distinction between priests and Levites, but regards all Levites as priests.

PRIESTLY LAW, OR TORAH, COMES INTO VIEW ABOUT 400 B.C.

After the Temple had been restored and the walls of Jerusalem rebuilt, the way was at length prepared for the full priestly Law, or Torah. This climax, which inaugurated the system known as "Judaism," was reached under Persian rule. The Law is said to have become binding upon the Jews by decree of the Persian king and the consent of a popular Jewish assembly (Ezra 7:1, 21; Neh. 8:1–8). The characteristic priestly writings of Judaism are found in certain documents running through the four books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. The priestly Code, per se, constitutes an advance upon Deuteronomy in that it takes the centralization of the cult for granted; whereas Deuteronomy deals with it as a problem to be solved.

PRIESTLY WRITINGS ANTI-EPHRAIMITE, PRO-JEWISH

The priestly element in the Law has the appearance of general, or abstract, interest in priestly matters as such, with an impartial outlook upon "all Israel." But we have seen that this appearance vanishes upon closer inspection (*vide supra,* chap. ii). The priestly element in Genesis, Exodus, Levit-

icus, and Numbers is built around the picture of "the Tabernacle in the Wilderness," which, in the distribution of its personnel, is completely pro-Jewish, pro-Leah, anti-Ephraimite, and anti-Rachel; while, at the same time, these late priestly writings themselves overlie prior Judaic strata which edit and rearrange the simple Ephraimite genealogy for the purpose of displacing Joseph as the first-born, while giving precedence to Reuben and the sons of Leah.* And in the meanwhile the Leah-tribe of Levi, which is of uniform priestly composition in Deuteronomy, undergoes division into a blue-blooded minority, called priests, and a larger section, consisting of plain Levites who do the menial, porter work of the sanctuary.†

JUDAIZING OF SOURCES A MORALE-BUILDING FORCE

The extensive Judaizing of the Bible was not necessarily done out of hand; but, as seems probable, it may be the outcome of traditions and legends, now lost, which arose in Judah after the fall of Ephraim, and especially in and after the Babylonian Captivity. We shall never know the identity of the men who reworked the sources in the Jewish

*See Appendix VI.

†The priests and Levites were eventually absorbed into the Leah-tribe of Judah.

and Leah interest. They were successors to Ezekiel, the priest, prophet, and scribe, who accompanied the exiles across the desert to Babylon; and they were undoubtedly sincere men, who believed that they were serving God. Their work was fitted to be a morale-building force in a period of history when everything conspired to depress the Jewish people.

What needs to be dwelt upon is that the discipline of the priestly-prophetic Law transformed the survivors of pre-exilic, heathen Israel into a God-fearing people, who, amid the dark shadows of antiquity, stood for a pure family life cherishing the ideals of personal righteousness and social justice. How this conception of God operates in the non-Hebrew, Gentile world of today will be considered in the following chapter.

IX.

BIBLICAL MONOTHEISM BECOMES WORLD FAITH

PROBLEM OF TRANSFER OF BIBLICAL RELIGION TO GENTILE WORLD

The monotheism that gradually evolved in the hills of Palestine has reached us by a long historic pathway, beginning in the Roman Empire and coming up through the Middle Ages into the world of today. Many scholars have investigated the conditions under which this remarkable transfer of religion from antiquity to modern times has taken place. But even so, a number of significant facts that throw light on the confusion and unsettlement prevailing today have been overlooked.

CLASH BETWEEN INDIVIDUALISTIC AND SOCIAL CONCEPTIONS OF GOD

Among these difficulties, the most outstanding is the ideological difference that has been slowly

making itself evident in the last half-century between the individualistic and the social conceptions of God. This variance of opinion, or belief, came to a climax in the first world-wide assembly of churches at Amsterdam; and its merits can be best understood, not by entering into the arguments raised by those who took part in the Assembly, but by attending to essentials of the religious evolutionary process itself.

CONCEPTION OF GOD BROADENS BEYOND NATIONALISM

As long as the conception of God that had evolved in Palestine through the work of the prophets remained within the land of its origin, it continued to be a nationalistic, Hebrew phenomenon. And even when Jewish synagogues were established in various parts of the Roman Empire, the belief held by the Jews maintained its national and racial character. To break through its Jewish parochialism and reach the mass mind of the heathen world the religion of the Bible had to challenge and overthrow the pagan cults of the Roman Empire on their own ground.*

**Sociological Study of the Bible,* pp. 229–247; *God and the Social Process,* pp. 304–311; *The Bible Is Human,* pp. 231–242.

PRIESTLY SYSTEM NEARS END IN NEW TESTAMENT PERIOD

The Jewish ecclesiastical regime, as we have already observed, was established about 400 B.C. on the basis of the priestly writings contained in the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. These writings, composed after the Babylonian Captivity, ordain for the first time the novel division of the Leah-tribe of Levi into a class of priests, having charge of sacrifice, and a class of common Levites, who do the menial work of the sanctuary. Throughout that long expanse of more than four centuries, the priestly Law held the Jewish people together and carried the books of the prophets along with it in the stream of national history. But in the meanwhile the tyrannical rule over the Jews by successive heathen empires brought crises in Jewish life that made impracticable any reform of the social and economic regime in the spirit of the great Hebrew prophets.

Jewish idealists of those days read the books of the prophets in preference to the priestly parts of the Law and the Jewish masses were conscious of the prophets as having been mighty figures in the past, while the combined pressure of Law and Prophecy created a home life, governed by morality

and the fear of God, which was destined one day to reappear as the formative principle of countless Christian homes beyond the hills of Palestine.

But at the same time there was nothing that anybody could do about putting the social and economic vision of the prophets into practice because Jewish society in the New Testament period had reached a condition of inexorable aristocracy under the pro-Roman Sadducean faction, which monopolized the priesthood and held most of the land in Judah. That the priestly clique originated among the wealthiest class and had a position at the very top level of the economic scale is emphasized by Rabbi L. Finkelstein, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in his exhaustive work on the sociological background of Judaism. "The priests seized the land," he says, "and themselves became the wealthiest people in the country. . . . The sources permit no doubt that the Sadducees derived from the wealthiest strata in Jerusalem."*

PRIESTHOOD ASSAILED IN MOST FAMOUS PARABLE

The endless feud between Judah and Ephraim, which was an outstanding feature of Hebrew his-

*Louis Finkelstein, *The Pharisees, the Sociological Background of Their Faith* (Philadelphia, 1938), I, 21, 80. This valuable work, although relating primarily to the Pharisees, contains much material on the Sadducees.

tory, reappears in the framework and contents of the world's most famous parable, the story of the good Samaritan. The name "Samaria" was at first given to the capital city of Ephraim; and then, after the destruction of the capital, it was extended to cover all the central highlands north of Judah. And thus, in the parable, a man from the territory of Ephraim showed mercy on a victim of highway robbery after two men of Judah, a priest and a Levite, had passed by on the other side.

The parable has always been read and repeated something like this: A victim of assault lay by the wayside, and nothing was done for him by two passersby, but finally a man from a place called Samaria went out of his way to help the victim.

On the other hand, the story, as actually told in the New Testament, goes into detail by lifting high in the realm of moral exaltation an old Ephraimite name, hateful to the Jews, while at the same time it holds up to execration a member of the Jerusalem priesthood and also a member of the caretakers' organization which had physical charge of the Temple. If this parable obtained any considerable circulation in Palestine, it must have been an important item in the cumulative resentment that led to the Crucifixion.

JESUS AND THE SOCIAL CONCEPTION OF GOD

The social and economic picture of life that is at the forefront in the Hebrew prophets reappears in the so-called "synoptic" gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke. We must bear in mind that, like most of the prophets, Jesus was a villager who denounced the wealthy class in the Jewish capital city. Moreover, the village of Nazareth lay in Galilee, a section of Palestine not properly Jewish and contaminated by the presence of gentiles, or heathen; and on the south of Galilee lay Samaria, with whose mixed population the Jews had no dealings. Thus it becomes clear that in the time of Jesus the real "Holy Land" was at the southern end of Palestine. And while all Palestine is now called the "Holy Land," it was not so in the New Testament period. Accordingly, we should realize that the home of Jesus was not in the Holy Land but was located seventy-five miles distant, in the northern part of Palestine. Jesus therefore went south, to Jerusalem, in the spirit of a crusader to reform the ancient land of the Jewish faith.

The only prophet whom Jesus is credited with quoting in a sense that bears upon the socioeconomic situation is the Ephraimite prophet Hosea: "Go ye and learn what this meaneth, I desire mercy

and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings" (Hos. 6:6; cf. Matt. 9:13 and 12:7). According to Matthew the passage in Hosea was quoted on two different occasions; and, like the parable of the good Samaritan, it not only puts emphasis upon "mercy," but in its depreciation of sacrifice and burnt offering, it is a thrust at the priesthood and the wealthy class to which the priests belong.

Upholding the priests were the scribes, who also moved in the wealthiest circles and whose practice of devouring houses and lands is condemned in a well-known passage: "Beware of the scribes, which desire . . . chief places at the feasts; which devour widow's houses, and for a shew make long prayers" (Luke 20:46, 47). But according to the Rabbinical authority quoted above, the Jewish country people were even more severe than Jesus in condemning the wealthy classes at the capital: "The vehement excoriations of Jesus against the Scribes were mildness itself compared with the almost savage ferocity which the *am ha-arez* [rural folk] felt for the cultured group."*

It was not the plain people, but the chief priests and their allies in the top economic level, who were

**Ibid.*, I, 32. Dr. Finkelstein is in easy possession of Jewish sources which gentile scholars have been slow to use.

foremost in plotting the events which led to the Crucifixion. This is clear, not only from the synoptic gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, but also from the book of John, which at this point is in harmony with the other gospels.

As the situation clarifies itself, the familiar passages about wealth and poverty in the synoptic gospels begin to stand out, not as isolated bits of material, but as items in a broad scene like that which confronted the Hebrew prophets. Jesus, of course, had much to say about questions outside the field of economic problems, and these other matters have been ably treated by many writers. But we are here in search of light upon the tension between the social and individual gospels, and our quest leads naturally to the chief source from which the great non-Jewish world received its first knowledge of God and the Bible, namely, Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles. And here again our search will not carry us into details of Paul's teaching but into certain considerations that have been overlooked in the history of the church.

PRIMARY CONTRAST BETWEEN JESUS AND PAUL

The church in the great world outside Palestine received its first impressions of the One God, not

from Jesus, but from the personal appeal of Paul and then from his letters. There was no New Testament in the time of Paul; and when at last, long after the death of Paul, the New Testament was compiled, its earliest writings were just the letters, or epistles, which Paul had written to the churches. The fact of Paul's chronological priority in the attention of the church gave him a kind of advantage over Jesus. A situation arose which led the gentile churches to accept Paul as the only proper measure for estimating Jesus at a period when these churches had no way of taking Jesus as the measure for understanding Paul.

INITIAL CONTRAST INVOLVED WITH OTHER DIFFERENCES

This primary distinction between Jesus and Paul goes along with other considerations: The ministry of Jesus took place on the actual ground where the conception of God evolved slowly out of heathenism and where the masses of the Jewish people who listened to him knew more or less about the socio-economic message of the prophets. The common people, indeed, heard him gladly and accounted him a prophet such as Jeremiah, or Elijah, or Hosea. Thus the environment and the psychological

atmosphere that surrounded Jesus gave an opening for his message and carried him along on a current of popular attention.

But on the other hand, while Paul had the advantage of chronological priority over Jesus in the gentile churches, the ministry of Paul was not conducted on ground that had been spiritually plowed and seeded by the Hebrew prophets; nor could Paul speak to audiences living under a priestly regime that, whatever its failings, had united masses of people around the ritual symbols of monotheism.

PAULINE INDIVIDUALISM ONLY PRACTICABLE GOSPEL FOR GENTILES IN PAUL'S DAY

When the synoptic gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, are carefully examined in comparison with Paul's letters to the Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, etc., the contrast arising from lack of reference to the problems of wealth and poverty in the Pauline epistles cannot fail to impress itself upon the reader. Paul, indeed, found himself in the midst of circumstances that made impracticable any emphasis upon the social conception of God as preached by the Hebrew prophets and by Jesus. The only message which the Greco-Roman mentality could grasp, in that epoch of human experience, and

therefore the only message practical for Paul to preach, was a gospel of individual salvation. The effect of Paul's preaching was to create, here and there in the Roman Empire beyond Palestine, religious households ruled by a faith in God and personal morality like that which illuminated the obscure Jewish homes wherein Paul and Jesus were brought up. The gospel of Paul was authentic and valid in the conditions amid which he labored.

And when we consider just what those conditions actually were, it becomes wholly clear that Paul could never have preached anything except an individual gospel without economic and social emphasis. The Apostle to the Gentiles challenged a system burdened by the same economic problems that carried pre-exilic Israel down to ruin. The once-free peasantry of Greece and Rome had been engulfed in the lower, impoverished multitude that lay at the base of all ancient civilization, while a small, opulent upper class held the entire Greco-Roman world in bondage. The system was maintained from day to day by soldiers, policemen, judges, process servers, tax collectors, and other officials, all of whom gained a living from their activities and were appointed by top-level functionaries in the privileged upper class, who had power to dismiss the little officeholders at the slightest sign of disloyalty

to the System. The Roman Empire was sick with economic disease, and the propertied classes were nervous. Many slave insurrections had taken place; and if Paul had traveled about emphasizing economic themes which we find in the first three gospels and in the Hebrew prophets, he would have met a speedy end at the hands of the police and the magistrates. While Jesus was, for a time, sheltered from the anger of the wealthy class "because they feared the people," Paul had no such protection; and whether he understood the prophets and Jesus in relation to social problems is not a matter of importance in view of the fact that Paul's ministry expressed a message adapted to the difficult circumstances under which he did his great work.*

ADJUSTMENT OF INDIVIDUALISTIC AND SOCIAL EMPHASIS, PROBLEM OF TODAY

Pauline individualism was wrought into the very fiber of the Church during the four centuries that preceded the fall of the Roman empire. And when the Christian message was carried to the barbarian tribes of medieval Europe, it penetrated a simple order of life that gave no opportunity for the eco-

**Sociological Study of the Bible,* chaps. xxv–xxvii.

nomic emphasis of the Hebrew prophets and the first three gospels. So here again Paul took precedence.

But when modern civilization began to emerge out of medieval Europe, a new religious epoch arrived, bringing with it the long struggles which attended the Reformation and the divorce of Church and State. These upheavals involved social and economic problems which were carried over into the future and which are only now coming into definite and widespread clash with individualism in the religious field. The message of Paul and the teachings of Jesus are not fundamentally antagonistic and will reach constructive adjustment in a new era marked by the disappearance of communism as a menace to the modern world. But the reconciliation between the social and individual gospels lies beyond the orbit of these pages.

APPENDICES

I.

JUDAIC MANIPULATION OF EPHRAIMITE MATERIAL

The priority of Ephraimite material with reference to sources commonly called "J" is clearly shown by the defacement of Ephraimite genealogy in the interest of Judaic prejudice against the legendary E matriarch, Rachel. The Ephraimite legend proper, which gave Joseph the favor of Jacob, was offensive to the Judaic writers, editors, and compilers in the "bottleneck" through which we have received all that we know about the Hebrew people. The folklore of "E" was too well known for complete erasement; but short of actually destroying the genealogical stories, the postexilic scribes were prepared to go to almost any length; and they have, in fact, succeeded in manipulating the core of Ephraimite legend so drastically that, in the absence of historical criticism, both Jews and Christians have been thrown off the track for many centuries.

APPENDIX I

"Chronicler's" Concessions

The very late "Chronicler" school (postexilic, priestly, Jewish) admits that "the sons of Joseph" (i.e., the Ephraimites) had the franchise of the first-born but contends that it was "given" to them by transfer from Reuben, who lost it through seducing a slave girl in the menage of his father Jacob (I Chron. 5:1, 2). The same original fabric of Ephraimite legend is revealed in the Septuagint version of II Samuel 19:43, where the Ephraimites declare that they are the first-born and stand ahead of Judah. In this backhanded, preposterous fashion, the Judaic writers yield to the prestige of Israelite folklore based upon the actual history of the predominant Hebrew clans that lived in the central Canaanite plateau and had the primary legend-building power in Israel.

The history at the basis of the original folklore confronts us in the fundamental sources of Judges-Samuel-Kings, within the awkward framework which Deuteronomic Jewish editors have imposed upon the Ephraimite material. Those early, non-Jewish documents contemplate the politico-religious evolution of Israel as going through impressive initial stages when Judah played no part in Hebrew history, as being deflected from its proper course

by the rise of the Davidic dynasty, and then as resuming its own independent sequence when the revolt of Ephraim expelled the house of David from the tents of Israel.

The original Ephraimite legend, then, would have become coherent in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C., making Joseph the first-born and the favorite son of Jacob and therefore assuming the fertility of Rachel from the start. But this legend expanded in the tenth century, when Ephraim lay under the grinding military and economic pressure of Davidic rule. The tribe of Judah, in retrospect, would accordingly appear as having been forced upon "Israel," and then rejected – this crisis being symbolized by the story that Leah, the mother of Judah, was fraudulently imposed upon Jacob and then thrust out of the patriarch's household proper, which was ruled by Rachel. The victimization of Jacob would thus be a resentful, Ephraimite extension, or supplement, of the primary Josephite folklore, without making Leah and the slave-women the first bearers of Jacob's children prior to the maternity of Rachel. The structure of the early legend projects through the surrounding "J" material, where the dreaded approach of Esau, the injured brother, causes Jacob to put Leah and the slave-women in the fore part of the procession (i.e.,

at the point of maximum peril), followed in the rear by Rachel and Joseph, at the point of maximum security (Gen. 33:1, 2).

Assault upon Ephraimite Prestige Begins

To break the force of Ephraimite prestige, the "J" writers begin their attack, not in the genealogy proper, but beyond its limits by claiming that Jacob was in a senile condition when he begat Joseph: "Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his *old age*" (Gen. 37:3). But in the original Ephraimite legend, Jacob is still a young man, serving in the family of his father-in-law Laban, when Joseph is born (Gen. 30:25). Moreover, the Ephraimite legend makes Joseph's uterine brother Benjamin a native of Canaan, his birth being the cause of his mother Rachel's death in Ephraimite territory (Gen. 35:16–20); whereas another Jewish editor, "P," claims that Rachel gave birth to Benjamin in Padan-Aram, in the house of Laban, hundreds of miles outside of Canaan (*ibid.,* vss. 23–26).

One of the Judaic sources makes Jacob 130 years old at the time of his alleged "descent into Egypt" (Gen. 47:9, P); while the same source makes his favorite son, Joseph, 37 at that precise time (Gen.

41:46, plus chronology of vs. 47). According to this version, therefore, Joseph was born when his father Jacob was 93, and when, upon the view of the Ephraimite source, Joseph's mother Rachel had been dead several generations (Gen. 35:16–20). The Judaic scribal imagination, indeed, ascends to fantastic heights where an Egyptian sojourn of twelve Hebrew tribes vanishes into historic impossibility, along with the "Tabernacle in the Wilderness."

Ephraimite Folklore Transposed

These facts are enough to put us on guard as we turn to the main body of Israelite birth lore in Genesis, chapters 29 and 30. The "J" editor tries to give the impression that Jacob loves Leah, but the manipulator has to admit that Jacob's "affection" for Leah is less than that for the favorite Rachel; i.e., "he loved Rachel *more* than Leah" (Gen. 29:30). But in the next following verse, by another "J" scribe, the admission is made that Jacob actually hated Leah, and this hatred is viewed by the scribe as a sin in the eyes of Jehovah, who makes the innocent Rachel a victim of Jacob's hatred by causing her to be sterile, while at the same time Jehovah causes Leah to be fertile, thus:

"And Jehovah saw that Leah was hated; and he opened her womb; *but Rachel was barren*" (Gen. 29:31). And the scribe goes on to involve Rachel in an angry dispute with her husband, which brings Rachel into disfavor with Jacob, as well as with Jehovah (Gen. 30:1, 2). These anti-Ephraimite devices become glaring as soon as the clue of Judaic bias is brought into the open.

By thus disarranging the original core of Ephraimite legend, the manipulator makes way for an extensive interpolation showing the way in which Leah was favored by Jehovah in giving birth to the first four sons of Jacob, namely, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah. Nevertheless, Leah is depicted as lamenting her "affliction" in being deprived of marital rights with Jacob, as exclaiming that Jacob "will *now* love" her, as hoping that Jacob will *now* be "joined into" her, and as praising Jehovah upon the birth of Judah in the climax of this interpolation (Gen. 29:31–35).

Another confused redaction of "E" material follows immediately, intended to picture the beloved wife, Rachel, as being in a state of pique because of Leah's fertility (Gen. 30:1–20). But the material is handled so awkwardly that it fails to conceal the original core of Ephraimite legend, which gives Rachel the predominant place in Jacob's

household, while at the same time Leah continues to be an outsider who does not live with him. For it is Rachel who has the right to "hire out" Jacob temporarily to Leah, who bears two additional sons, and who declares "*now* will my husband dwell with me, because I have borne him [i.e., altogether] six sons." But still she fails to achieve the state of wifehood, which even yet belongs to Rachel, who is actually charged by Leah with having stolen Jacob from her. "Is it a small matter," Leah asks, "that thou hast taken my husband?"

This chaotic redaction is followed by a postscript, lifted out of the "P" document, which gives Leah, in addition to her six sons, a daughter by the name of Dinah (Gen. 30:21). And after providing thus for the birth of a grand total of seven children by Leah and four by slave women (making eleven altogether), the Jewish writer concedes that the Deity at length "remembers" Rachel, and "opens her womb," so that Rachel bears *Joseph.*

The reconstruction of Ephraimite material, by the interpolation of "J" sources and "J" comments, thus produces a genealogical mélange that has the one basic purpose of anti-Ephraimite propaganda: The birth of Joseph is postponed as long as possible, so as to give the impression that Joseph, or the Ephraimites, could never have had the birth-

right of the first-born originally, and thus the prestige of Rachel is disparaged in favor of Leah.

That this biased conglomeration of source material should have impressed itself authoritatively upon the Synagogue and the Church for more than two thousand years is natural and explainable under the circumstances attending the evolution of Judaism and Christianity during long periods of time in which there was no scientific sense of history. The Judaization of the Bible was a legitimate recompense to those upon whom was loaded the terrific burden of introducing monotheism to the world. But this consideration does not absolve critical scholarship from emphasizing that the editors of Genesis have transposed the Ephraimite birth-sources into an artificial distortion equal to that of the "Tabernacle-narrative" (*vide supra,* chap. ii).

It may be well to emphasize again, as in Chapter I, that the Jews had only an exploitative sense of Ephraim. The national, or political, connection of Judah with Ephraim existed only during the reigns of the first two kings of the Davidic dynasty, when these monarchs were engaged in holding the Ephraimites down. The house of Judah, therefore, never had any sense of Israelite nationality in co-ordination with Ephraim, but merely a sense of Ephraim

as an inferior people whom it was right for Judah to exploit. The Jewish compilers of the Bible admit the sins of Judah as meriting the wrath of Jehovah; but even here, in this impalpable realm of the spirit, their bias leads them to exploit Ephraim as the pattern and source of Judaic wrongdoing (II Kings 16:3; 17:19; and 21:13; II Chron. 21:13; Mic. 6:16).

Scientific analysis and interpretation of Hebrew history aim to correlate the objective, secular events with the psychological phenomena represented by the Hebrew text of the Bible, the one being the channel within which the other moves.

II.

PRIORITY OF EPHRAIMITE SOURCES

The state of scholarly opinion with reference to the comparative chronology of "J" and "E" is put on exhibit by Oesterley and Robinson in their *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament* (p. 65), where they express uncertainty and say that the point is not of serious importance. But the preceding appendix-article should be enough to show the significance of the early source question as basic to Biblical criticism.

Momentum of Wellhausenism

The line of investigation claiming priority for "J" came to a focus in Wellhausen's epoch-making *Geschichte* (1878), in which the formula "JEDP" became standard, the sequence being the product of successive Biblical writers, or schools, each of which was *Israel-conscious* in the same degree. That is, the formula symbolizes a filiation of compilers and editors who had behind them a uniform tradition of a twelve-tribe Israel substantially as en-

visaged in the orthodox view of the Bible and of Hebrew history. Such is the tradition of Wellhausenism, which undertakes to show that the Pentateuch "is not the starting-point for the history of Israel, but for the history of Judaism." This is the outstanding feature in the ideology of Wellhausen, which, by general momentum, carries along with it the formula JEDP.

Israel-Consciousness Restricted

The modern conception of a JE sequence, as already intimated, is to some extent a survival of the orthodox twelve-tribe version of Hebrew history, which assumes the existence of a uniform series of tribes in a national framework overlying Canaan as a whole, implying an Israel-consciousness alike in the area identified with "Judah" and in the region called "Ephraim." But this is a postulate that has become current through the activity of postexilic Jewish writers who have created an atmosphere of psychological assimilation over preexilic Palestine.

"Israel-Consciousness" Primarily Ephraimite

On the contrary, the evolution of an Israel-consciousness, in the proper sense of the term, was

primarily a phenomenon of the central highlands, where it evolved independently, upon its own ground, in the absence of any corresponding development below the southern Ephraimite frontier. The religious process taking place in Ephraim, however, was interrupted by Philistine aggression and the rise of the house of David, pivoted upon Amorite Jerusalem. But the rebellion of the house of Joseph against the house of David enabled Ephraim to resume its own proper spiritual history, whose internal force eventuated in the constructive ministries of Elijah and Hosea.

No claim, of course, can be set up that the cult of Jehovah was not practiced in the early period by some clans to the south of the lower Ephraimite frontier. But the lack of a coherent historic evolution in southern Palestine, corresponding to that which took place in Ephraim, is the reason why no Israel-consciousness, and no early "J" document, arose in the territory which later became known as Judah. The error at this point is the unproved assumption that, prior to the writing of documents "J" and "E," all Hebrew Palestine was overspread by standardized mental habits and cultural outlook, which ultimately gave rise to two indepedent, but parallel, narratives – the earlier being Judaic and the later Ephraimite.

PRIORITY OF EPHRAIMITE SOURCES

"E" Narrative Lacking in Early Genesis

No certain trace of an "E" narrative can be found in the earlier part of Genesis, up to chapter fifteen; and the assumption of a consistent "J" narrative behind that section of the opening Pentateuchal book rests upon uncertain grounds, lately challenged by Pfeiffer, who finds here the evidence of southern writings, Edomite in origin.* Genesis fifteen contains prophetic material denouncing "the iniquity of the Amorite," which may reflect a late scribal school in Ephraim. But not until the opening of chapter twenty can a source be identified suggesting the existence of an "E" narrative out of which the compilers of the Pentateuch are making selections.

On the other hand, it is necessary to bear in mind that, from the very beginning of Genesis, we are already in the grip of Jewish redactors whose rigid purpose it is to assemble the entire book within the framework of the very late "P" narrative. The first chapter of Genesis and the first four verses of the second chapter are taken from this priestly document, emphasizing the creation of sun and moon, "for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years," to be the basis of calculation regarding the

**Introduction to the Old Testament,* 159–167.

stated ritual and service of "the Tabernacle in the Wilderness," around which the great "Priestly Document" is written. Thus evident from the outset is the propaganda which foresees the triumph of the sons of Leah and their ultimate ascendence over the children of Rachel.

Redaction of "E" Material Impressive

The most thoroughgoing example of anti-Ephraimite bias in the Old Testament is, of course, the Tabernacle-narrative in the "P" source. But almost equal in impressiveness is the manipulation of Ephraimite genealogical folklore in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters of Genesis, examined in the preceding article of this appendix, where the scribes have mauled the Ephraimite legend so drastically.

The story of the patriarch Joseph is another illustration of Ephraimite material taken over into a supposed independent "J" source for propaganda purposes: in this case *Judah,* for no reason whatever, is depicted as the spokesman of the ten brethren in arguing with Jacob and refusing to go down into Egypt for the purchase of corn unless Jacob agrees to send with them Benjamin, the second son of Rachel (Gen. 43:3–9); it is Judah, again, who

leads the brethren into Joseph's presence and who launches into a lengthy disquisition (Gen. 44:14, 16–34). And finally, Jacob himself is described as appointing Judah to lead him to Joseph in Egypt (Gen. 46:28).

But in the "E" story, although Judah is present, the brethren have no spokesman; and they converse directly with Joseph (Gen. 42:8–20). The large amount of Joseph-matter in chapters 43 and 44 does not come from an independent "J" source, parallel to the "E" source, but is merely Ephraimite matter absorbed into "J" for the purpose of surrounding Judah with prestige lacking in the objective Hebrew history of Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

South Never Integrated with Ephraim

That no historic process took place in southern Palestine, corresponding to the religious evolution of Ephraim, is clear from all the early sources. And even as late as the beginning of the eighth century, Judah seems not to have been a field for the work of a prophet such as Amos, who condemned his native province as a kind of spiritual desert and who was impelled across the northern frontier of Judah to preach in "Israel," i.e., Ephraim.

APPENDIX II

When the destruction of Ephraim finally threw the spiritual burden of Israel upon Judah, the situation in the south proved to be strikingly different from that which had obtained in the central hill country. The fact now comes out, in clear and stark relief, that Judah had never been the scene of an integral, self-centered religious evolution, such as had been taking place in Ephraim during several centuries. The rise of Ephraim-Israel as a monarchy was the outcome of a prophetic movement in a uniform series of clans with a national consciousness going back into a dim past. Saul, the founder of the kingdom, was "among the prophets," led by Samuel; but on the other hand, the kingdom of Judah was brought into being out of diverse elements in southern Palestine, organized by the skilful policy of David, who was not "among the prophets" and who had the assistance of priests. This contrast between southern and central Palestine is fundamental to Biblical history. It is involved in the lack of a definite Israel-consciousness in Judah, and it is essential to an understanding of the providential place of Judah in religious evolution as giving the hard, outer shell of ecclesiasticism which never developed in Ephraim but which, in Judah, was destined to carry the inner core of prophecy through the centuries.

Alienation between Judah and Israel

The political and religious contrast between the two parts of the country is expressed by the anomalous phrase "Judah and Israel," or "Israel and Judah," occurring over and over again in the sources. A peculiar sense of alienation from Israel, or Ephraim, is manifest in Judah, even when the southern prophets and redactors are claiming Judah as Hebrew or Israelite. Thus, according to Isaiah of Jerusalem, the original, pure Israel was Judah, *from which* "Ephraim" departed (Isa. 7:17). In other words, this prophet inaccurately regards the rebellion of the house of Joseph against the house of David, or Judah, not as a movement wherein the bulk of the Hebrew nation cast off a single tribe, but as the "departure" of Ephraim *from* what Isaiah took to be the Israelite "norm" — Judah.

The orientation of the southern writers toward Ephraim was negative and subversive. The sins of Judah, according to the Deuteronomic school, were not self-centered but consisted of "walking in the statutes of Israel" (II Kings 17:19). The wickedness of Jerusalem, according to the Judean prophet Micah, arose, not out of that city's heart, but from keeping the statutes of the Ephraimite king Omri and walking in the counsels of Omri's son Ahab

(Mic. 6:9–16). And in the same way, Isaiah, with his usual inaccuracy, speaks of Jerusalem as primarily a "faithful city," which was "full of justice" and wherein "righteousness lodged" (Isa. 1:21). That other sources were in existence, proving that the idealization of Jerusalem was untrue and that the city had been Amorite and heathen straight along before the Babylonian Captivity, was well known to the prophet Ezekiel and others who, in the storms of the Captivity, admitted the real, historic facts (Ezek. 16:44 ff.).

Practically all Judaic writers – whether they be the southern prophets, or the "D," "J," and "P" redactors – are interested in belittling and criticizing Ephraim and in manipulating the Ephraimite sources, which are the earliest of the Biblical documents and which took form prior to the growth of an Israel-consciousness in southern Palestine. Nothing in the world's literature equals the systematic source-distortion that has obscured the fundamental history of Ephraim in the eyes of orthodox Jews and Christians alike.

III.

TABERNACLE–NARRATIVE POSTEXILIC

The expression "Camp of Ephraim," rather than "Camp of Manasseh" (the older Josephite tribe), takes for granted the ascendency which, as a matter of historic fact, was achieved by the younger tribe only in the late Judges period, when the national evolution had crossed the hiatus between the books of Judges and Samuel.

"From Beersheba to Dan"

The Judahite "Bezalel" and the Danite "Oholiab" are named as chosen out of all Israel to be leaders in the construction of the Tabernacle. This item of evidence is based upon the expression "from Beersheba [in extreme southern Judah] to Dan." But the saying did not come into use until after the historic transfer of the Danites from their earlier position, southeast of Ephraim (where they lay in the days of Samson), to their final position in the extreme north of Israel (Judg. 13:25; cf. 18:27 ff.). While seeming thus to be liberal in their claim

that the construction of the Tabernacle was an "all-Hebrew" effort, the priestly redactors not only reveal their late standpoint but they fail to mask their pro-Judaic bias.

Primacy Buttressed by Garbled Folklore

Another consideration of equal weight is the fact that the Tabernacle-narrative bases itself upon the awkwardly manipulated birth-folklore of Genesis twenty-nine and thirty. The tribal stations around the sanctuary are meticulously arranged, upon the assumption that the redacted Ephraimite genealogical matter is the original form of the legends relating to the twelve patriarchs and their descendants.

The priestly document, revolving around the Desert Church, comes before us, then, as one of the latest examples in the long series of "Judaizations" which have obscured the primary "E" elements in the Biblical sources. The so-called "J," of the Wellhausen school, when viewed from the standpoint of "E," disappears as an independent source. It does not issue from an authorship correlative to "E"; it is not composed on the ground of an impartial southern approach to Hebrew history; and although it has characteristics of style that, at first glance, appear to differentiate it on its own footing,

it is nevertheless a reflection, or distortion, of "E" for purposes of Judaic propaganda.

Tribal Offerings and Marching Order

Going beyond the Tabernacle-narrative proper, we find that after the sanctuary has been built, under charge of its Leah-descended architect, Bezaleel, the tribal offerings of equipment for use in the Tabernacle are brought forward, first of all, by none other than a prince of the Leah-tribe of Judah (Num. 7:12), followed on the next four days by the leaders of the remaining Leah-tribes, Issachar, Zebulun, Reuben, and Simeon (vss. 18, 24, 30, 36, where the "first-born" Reuben, under the cloud of ancestral sin, trails three of the younger Leah-tribes). Then comes the prince of the Leah slave-girl tribe, Gad (vs. 42). And then – and not until then – come the princes of the Rachel-tribes, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin, the primacy of the younger Ephraim over the elder Manasseh being taken for granted. Following the Josephites on the last three days are the princes of the remaining slave-tribes.

Turning to the march of Israel through the wilderness, the tribe of Judah goes at the head of the procession, followed by the other four Leah-tribes, Issachar, Zebulun, Reuben, and Simeon, in the

order given. Then comes Gad, which is descended from the slave-woman belonging to Leah (Num. 10:14–20). And after all these marchers come the Rachel tribes, followed by three slave tribes (vss. 21–27). And in this army the Leah-tribes are said to have the preponderance of military strength, consisting of 337,850 fighting men, while the entire house of Joseph, comprising the Rachel-tribes, can muster only a poor 108,100 (Num. 2:3–24). Whatever the special phase of the subject under consideration — whether it be statistics, or offerings for the sanctuary, or position in the line of march, or placement around and within the Tabernacle itself — the advantage is always given to the Judaic-Leah interest, which persistently overshadows and outweighs the Ephraimite-Rachel interest. The hand of postexilic scribalism is infallibly revealed by the elaborate contrivance which gives a tribal-Jewish coloration to the history of Israel in the wilderness and in Canaan prior to the Babylonian Captivity.

Tribal Narratives Favor Judah, Leah

The priestly document is unvaryingly pro-Leah; whenever tribal patriarchs or groups are mentioned, the sons of Leah stand first. Thus, in Gene-

sis, 35:22 B–26, a priestly interpolation reads: "Now the sons of Jacob were twelve." Then come the names of six Leah-tribes, including Levi; then the two Rachel-tribes, Joseph and Benjamin; and then the four slave-girl tribes. And again, in Genesis 46:8 ff.: "These are the names of the children of Israel which came into Egypt." First, the six Leah-groups, as just given above; and followed this time, not by the Rachel-groups, but by two slave-girl groups; *then* the Rachel-groups; and finally the two other slave groups. The sons of Rachel are thus wedged in between two groups of slave-tribes. The various lists differ, but there is always a meticulous bias against the house of Joseph, which is insulted and humiliated, now in one way and now in another.

Exodus and Later Books

Turning to Exodus (called in Hebrew *Elle sh'-moth,* "These-are-the-names"), eleven tribal designations are shown, as follows, in chapter 1:1–5. First come the six Leah-names; then the one Rachel-name, Benjamin; then the four slave-groups; followed by the explanation, "Joseph was in Egypt already." The next list, Numbers, chapter 1, begins with five Leah-names instead of six, be-

cause Levi is omitted now for the first time, since "the Levites, after the tribe of their fathers, were not numbered among them" (vss. 47, 49). The list of "twelve spies," who are sent to search out the land of Canaan, omits Levi and is headed by delegates from four Leah-tribes (Num. 13:1 ff.). A statistical schedule in Numbers, chapter 26, begins with five Leah-tribes, followed by one slave tribe, after which come the Rachelites.

So much, then, for the document "P" in general, which cannot, therefore, any longer be explained as hitherto merely in the character of a late source with a disinterested concern about exact matters of history, genealogy, law, and cult. Coming as it does through the "bottleneck" of Judaic scribalism after the Captivity, it is anti-Ephraimite and anti-Rachelite; and it stands well along in the series of Judaizing propaganda, superimposed upon the original Ephraimite sources in this order: EDJP.

Rival "Blessings" in "E" and "P"

The original "Blessing of Jacob" appears, not in Genesis 49, but in Genesis 48, according to which Joseph brings his two sons, Manasseh, the elder, and Ephraim, the younger, to the Israelite patriarch: "And he blessed Joseph, and said, Elohim,

before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, . . . bless the lads . . . and let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth [i.e., in the central highlands]. . . . And he blessed them that day . . . and he set Ephraim before Manasseh. And Israel said unto Joseph, Behold, I die; but Elohim shall be with you. . . . Moreover, I have given unto thee one portion [i.e., shoulder, or shechem] above thy brethren, *which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow*" (Gen. 48:15 ff.). This is the original blessing of Jacob in the Ephraimite source, revealing "Jacob," not as a private individual with a small family group around him, but as the leader of an army that conquers the central highlands of Canaan with military weapons. The narrative in question excludes the orthodox ideology of twelve patriarchs in Egypt.

All this "E" material, when regarded from the Judaic standpoint, was offensive. And so the Judaic "P" school undertook to forestall its implications and cancel its prestige by means of a pro-Leah interpolation (Gen. 48:3–6): "El Shaddai appeared unto me . . . and said, I will make thee fruitful, and multiply thee . . . and I will give thee this land" [i.e., Canaan as a whole, not simply the central hills]. "P" then goes on to subordinate

the sons of Joseph to the sons of Leah by making Jacob say of Manasseh and Ephraim, "they shall be mine," *even as the two Leah-sons, Reuben and Simeon* (vs. 5). But in the Ephraimite form of the blessing, Jacob makes no comparative reference to other sons; and if such a reference had been made by the Jacob of the Ephraimite source, his natural expression would be that Manasseh and Ephraim "shall be mine, even as thou Joseph and thy brother Benjamin, are mine." But instead, he merely says, in "E," "Let my name be named over them" (vs. 16). The "P" interpolation makes Jacob refer to Reuben and Simeon so as to bring Leah into the picture. What we are dealing with, of course, is not Jacob as an individual, but two different sources, written from two conflicting standpoints, and then clumsily patched into what seems to be an unbroken narrative.

Moving on into the following chapter (Gen. 49), "P" emphasizes by indirection that Jacob's real "Blessing" was not the Ephraimite one, described in the preceding chapter (Gen. 48:7–22), but the one which refers to the twelve patriarchs, *and which gives "the Sceptre"* to the Leah-tribe of Judah (chap. 49:1–27; cf. vss. 10, 28). The "P" interpolation, beginning with verse 28 and going to the end of chapter 49, makes Jacob solicitous about the grave of his hated wife ("There I buried

Leah," vs. 31), to offset Jacob's reference, in the Ephraimite source, to the burying of his beloved Rachel (Gen. 48:7).

Jacob the Conqueror

Our analysis now reverts to Jacob's blessing in the Ephraimite source, culminating in the statement by Jacob that he has given *Joseph* one "shechem" above his brethren, which, with sword and bow, Jacob has taken out of the hand of the Amorite (Gen. 48:22). This important "E" source in Genesis connects with other Ephraimite material in Judges, chapter 9, where the conquest of the central Canaanite hill country comes to a climax in the destruction of Shechem by the Joseph-tribe of Manasseh.

But in Genesis the Judaic redactors, jealous of the prestige thus accruing to the house of Joseph, revamp the Ephraimite narrative so that the conquest of Shechem takes on a form something like the Greek story of the conquest of Troy revolving around a fight for the woman Helen. Thus the struggle at Shechem is headlined as a fight over the woman Dinah, *the daughter of Leah,* wherein the imaginary heroes are Simeon and Levi, sons of Leah (Gen. 34).

Having seriously garbled the story in the Leah-

interest, the Judaic redactors incontinently disregard the mass of Shechemite wealth and captives acquired by the conquerors (vss. 27–29) and leave us to imagine the individual patriarch, Jacob, afloat again with his immediate family of precisely sixty-six persons. The fundamental, inexorable purpose, animating the compilers of the first book in the Bible, is to carry Jacob into Egypt with his domestic entourage intact so that, in time, the twelve-tribe Hebrew nation shall emerge thence into the wilderness to receive the revelation of the anti-Ephraimite, pro-Leah Tabernacle, or *Mishkan*. Everything ranges itself, directly or indirectly, behind this dogmatic objective.

Tabernacle Contrasted with Ezekiel's Plan

The authors of the Tabernacle-narrative used a technique precisely opposite to that followed by the prophet Ezekiel, who naïvely projected his Jehovah-revealed priestly system into the *future,* where, of course, it was checked up as an unrealized ideal. But in contrast, the Tabernacle was thrown far back into the past, where the Priestly Code remained for ages immune to the touch of historical criticism.

When "P" was once given the force of law by

the Jewish leaders, acting under the authority of the Persian empire, the Pentateuch became sacrosanct and was taken for granted as literal history by oncoming generations of Jews and Christians for many centuries. No open, systematic inquiry into its nature and origin could be made without incurring the death penalty. But it would have been strange, indeed, if the artificial character of the Tabernacle were not privately observed by some of the curious, inquiring minds in the long succession of scribes, interpreters, rabbis, and Talmudists who guarded the tradition. The precautions taken by Ibn Ezra, in the Middle Ages, when referring to "Mosaic" authorship, are perhaps a case in point, highlighted by the saying of his enemies, "Let his mouth be filled with molten gold."

Oral Tradition Develops

A non-Biblical, oral tradition about the Tabernacle kept on growing in Talmudic Judaism. It was asserted that the Levites used to write on the boards of the sanctuary, so that they could know which fitted into which (*Mishna,* Shab., 12:3). An elaborate attempt was made to show that various places of worship (*bamoth*) were permitted in the wilderness prior to the construction and installation of

the Tabernacle, the Talmudic apologist even resorting for this purpose to what is now recognized as the "E" source (Exod. 24:5). He says, however, that after the setting up of the one, sole sanctuary, the *bamoth* were forbidden. And yet he goes on to say that after the Israelites came into Canaan, the *bamoth* were again permitted while the Tabernacle remained in *Gilgal,* forbidden once more after sacrifices commenced at *Shiloh,* again permitted while the structure supposedly rested at Nob and Gibeon, and then finally prohibited forever when the Tent was removed to Jerusalem (*Mishna,* Zeb., 14:4–8). This enterprising Talmudic scribe knew almost as much as the late orthodox apologist, Professor James Orr, of Glasgow, who decided that when the Tabernacle had at length reached Gibeon, it had become so frail and old that it was unfitted for further transportation (*Problem of the Old Testament,* p. 173; cf. review by the writer in the *American Journal of Theology* [April, 1908], XII, pp. 241–49).

The priestly material in the Old Testament is one of the most successful ventures in world literature. It was indispensable in saving the work of the Hebrew prophets, but it has, in a large measure (at least among Christians) beclouded the message and meaning of the prophets, and it has confused

the realities of history during more than two thousand years among Jews and Christians alike.

An attempt has been made recently to resurrect the Tabernacle by Mr. Frank M. Cross, a student of Professor Albright at the Johns Hopkins University. His argument fills the entire September, 1947, number of *The Biblical Archæologist* (Drawer 93A, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.). It is hardly necessary to say that this attempt is made without recognizing the significance of the tremendous dichotomy underlying the Hebrew Bible.

IV.

CONVENTIONAL TRIBAL HISTORY CONFUSED, IMPOSSIBLE

A general distinction existed between the clans of central Canaan and those located on higher ground, south of Jerusalem. This contrast was of a hostile character and finds one of its earliest examples when "men of Judah" delivered over to the Philistines the northern, Danite hero Samson, who was defending the Josephites against their enemies in the coastal plain (Judg. 15). If the clans of southern Palestine had been identified with the cause of Israel, they would necessarily have joined the central clans in protecting the great Israelite hero. But a better illustration of the natural antipathy between the pastoral south and the agricultural center is found in the antagonism between the Ephraimite king, Saul, and the southern chief David, eventuating in the wars between the kingdom of Israel and the kingdom of Judah.

No Twelve-tribe History

There was no such definite, objective, tribal history as that which is implied by the common expression "the twelve tribes of Israel." There are more than twenty schedules of tribes in the Old Testament, but they are inconsistent and cannot be brought into harmony. The number twelve is obtained in one list by counting "Joseph" as a single tribe, and in another by omitting Joseph and treating Joseph's "sons," Manasseh and Ephraim, as two tribes. The so-called "Blessing of Jacob" (Gen. 49) makes a twelve-pattern by counting "Simeon" as a tribe, but on the other hand, the so-called "Blessing of Moses" (Deut. 33) omits the name of Simeon entirely. Both blessings count "Levi" as one of the tribes. But the narrative of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness obtains twelve only by omitting Levi from the four groups of three each on the four sides of the sanctuary, while putting the Levites themselves around the building as guards.

Judges 5 and I Kings 4

A yardstick for studying the tribal situation in Hebrew history is found by checking the tribe-names in the "Song of Deborah" (Judg. 5) and the

names in the Fiscal Register, beginning with the Ephraimites under the tax collector Ben Hur (I Kings 4). Both documents are Ephraimite. The earlier one omits Judah because no tribe of Judah was in existence at the time, while the other list also omits Judah, which had meanwhile taken form in south Palestine but was exempt from taxation, being a partner with the Davidic dynasty in the fiscal oppression of Ephraim.

Two lists are thus available for comparison, representing two periods of history several generations apart, amounting possibly to a century and a half; and it is instructive to observe that these lists are approximately the same, with exceptions, thus:

Judges 5	*I Kings 4*
Ephraim	Ephraim
Machir	Manasseh
Benjamin	Benjamin
Zebulun	
Issachar	Issachar
Reuben	
Gilead	Gilead
Dan	
Asher	Asher
Naphtali	Naphtali

Machir in the first list is an earlier form of Manasseh in the opposite column. Reuben, which existed in the time of Deborah, has meanwhile vanished from history. Dan, which migrated from its home, southwest of Ephraim in the time of Samson, to its later position in the far north, is absent from the second list because of waning influence and possible disintegration. The same can be said of Zebulun. But Asher and Naphtali occur in both sources. Gilead is also in both columns but never emerged into coherence as a tribe said to be derived from a single patriarch. There was no clear history of tribes in the alleged, orthodox pattern during this long period; and most of the names are to be interpreted merely as designations of neighborhoods or communities in Palestine.

Contrast Economic Not Tribal

The consideration to be carried in mind here is the outstanding distinction between two clan-masses, identified in the one case with central Palestine under the hegemony of *Ephraim,* and in the other case with southern Palestine under the rule of *Judah.* The mass called Ephraim fell under temporary tribute to the group generalized as Judah and was treated as a conquered people by the south.

Rebellion of Ephraim against the south brought reassertion of the Israel-consciousness in its own original right, whereupon arose the idea that Judah had been foisted upon "Israel" (Jacob) and then expelled from the national organization proper. Thus, the history as viewed in retrospect served as ground for the legend that Leah, the mother of Judah, had been imposed upon Jacob and then thrust out of his tent. The Ephraimite legend says that, in contrast with Rachel's beauty, Leah had lusterless or sore eyes (Gen. 29:17). But the Judaic interpolators avenge Leah by making her fertile and Rachel barren; while it is claimed that Jeroboam, the leader of the Ephraimite rebellion, was born of a leprous woman (I Kings 11:26, *Zeruah*), who is also called a prostitute in the corresponding passage of the Greek-translated Hebrew text, the Septuagint.

Historical Geography of "E" and "J"

On the map of Palestine, Judah is wedged between the house of Joseph on the north and the people of Edom on the south, who were said, by the legends of Israel, to be the sons of *Esau,* whom Jacob had wronged by stealing his "birthright."

This pattern is taken up into the basic Ephraimite legend (quoted by "J"), showing how Jacob, in consternation, arranged his family upon the approach of Esau with four hundred men (Gen. 32:7). The influence of "E" becomes further evident in the mention of "eleven sons" at the time of Jacob's meeting with Esau (vs. 22), as contrasted with "P's" claim that Jacob had twelve sons before this time in Padan-Aram (Gen. 35:23–26). The twelfth son, Benjamin, according to "E," was born in Palestine after the meeting with Esau (Gen. 35:16–20), so that the mention of only eleven sons by "J" is enough in itself to show that the "J" source here consists of material derived from the Ephraimite cycle.

The continuity of the story is broken by an interpolation showing how Elohim (not Jehovah) gives Jacob a blessing and changes his name to Israel (Gen. 32:24–32). The narrative then resumes, but the editorial hand shows itself again by making Jacob rearrange the "two bands," prior to the interpolation, into *three* bands, as follows: (1) the slave women and their children are put foremost, facing Esau, at the point of greatest peril; (2) next comes the hated wife, Leah, with her children; and finally (3) in the position of greatest

security, comes the beloved wife, Rachel, with one son, Joseph (Gen. 33:2), in accord with 32:22, "eleven sons." The object of the "J" redactor, who is manipulating all this Ephraimite matter, is to give Leah protection denied to her in the "two-band" form of the narrative (Gen. 32:7). But since the slave-girl groups (Dan, Asher, Naphtali, and Gad) were always northern tribes in actual Hebrew life, the rearrangement which places them between Judah and Edom is in defiance of historical geography.

"Canaan" Personalized as Literal Ancestor

The entire land of Canaan was thought of as having been settled originally by eleven groups, descended from a literal ancestor, Canaan, whose "first-born" was Sidon (Gen. 10:5). Any attempt to draw out from the Old Testament sources a definitive account of Israelite history in terms of twelve tribes, coming from twelve actual forefathers, is necessarily fruitless, whether it be made by Biblical writers themselves or by modern historians. The Judaic scribes, in the postexilic "bottleneck," have used the genealogical matter for propaganda purposes only and have then left it in a state of confusion.

"Reuben" as Example

The emphasis upon "Reuben," as the first-born of Jacob, is due to the same Judaic interpolators who scrambled the Ephraimite folklore (Gen. 29:31–35). Reuben is used in the Jewish-Leah interest for the purpose of obscuring the prestige of "Joseph." The group known as Reuben lived in the Jordan valley near the fords of the river and may have been merely a fragment left behind when the main body of Josephites made their way up into the central plateau. Reuben is condemned as a war-slacker by the Ephraimite "Deborah Song" (Judg. 5:15), described as an adulterer in the Ephraimite source (Gen. 35:22), denounced in the "Blessing of Jacob" (Gen. 49:3, 4), and spoken of slightingly in the "Blessing of Moses" (Deut. 33:6). Reuben's descendants, Dathan and Abiram, are stigmatized by the Ephraimite narrative as "wicked men" who are swallowed up in the earth (Num. 16:1, 26, 30 ff.). The late, priestly document, containing the story of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, defers to the anti-Reubenite legend far enough to "demote" Reuben from the front of the sanctuary, where the group had the right to be stationed as the "first-born." But even so, the position of Reuben was far superior to that of the Rachel-descended

groups at the very rear of the building. The scribes utilize Reuben merely to discredit Joseph, and they make no attempt to extricate the Reuben-group from the opprobrium into which it fell during the Judges period before vanishing from Hebrew history.

Northern Tribes only Half-Israelite

The four northern groups, going by the names Dan, Asher, Naphtali, and Gad, were of half-Israelite blood and were assigned to the maternity of slave-women by the Ephraimite legend. The small northern groups, Issachar and Zebulun, were also involved in some kind of subsidiary tradition. Their mother, Leah, before attaining even the dignity of a hated wife, may have been viewed by the legends as a concubine, or perhaps only a slave. The list of tribal ancestors in Genesis 46 refers to Leah merely as a bearer of children, while speaking of Rachel as "Jacob's wife" (vss. 15 and 19).

That the tribal names, in most cases, were designations of localities and neighborhood communities, expressed in personal form, is the only conclusion to be drawn from the evidence as a whole. Thus, on the one hand, "Gilead" was viewed as an individual who "begat Jephthah," and on the other

hand, Gilead was condemned in the same tribal category with "Reuben" as a war-slacker. But Gilead never entered the orthodox tribal patriarchy and at length lapsed into territorial status (Judg. 11:1 and 5:17).

V.

TRIBE OF JUDAH LATE

If the Jewish redactors of the book of Judges had been able to discover any integral, consistent process of history in southern Palestine before the rise of David, they would have been only too glad to incorporate it in the material upon which they were at work. That no such history took place and that no "tribe" of Judah existed prior to the construction of David's kingdom of Judah becomes clear in the degree that the sources of the Old Testament are understood.

Ephraimite History Tends to South

The history of Israel in Canaan begins among the hills around the pre-Hebrew, Amorite walled city of Shechem. The outstanding Hebrew tribe or group in the locality was *Manasseh,* and when the legends of Israel began to take form, the Manasseh-element figured as the "elder" son of Joseph. The growth of population in the central highlands was toward the south, giving rise to a new group

or tribe, *Ephraim,* the younger son of Joseph. A hint of this movement is found in the primitive, poetic material called "The Blessing of Moses," which mentions the *"thousands"* of Manasseh and the *"ten thousands"* of Ephraim. The Josephites are envisaged as having strength like the bullock, and as impetuously pushing the heathen peoples about (Deut. 33:17). They are, significantly, the *first-born* of the bullock.

Further expansion southward produced a third Josephite group, called "Son of the South" (*Bin Yamin,* or Benjamin). Points of the compass in the Orient were determined by facing eastward, toward sunrise, the right hand being thus directed southward. The legends made Benjamin the younger son of Jacob and Rachel, and in the Ephraimite source his birth takes place precisely here, in southernmost Ephraim, near a village called *Ephrath* (Gen. 35:16–18). The late, priestly editors, however, claim that Benjamin was born in Padan-Aram, hundreds of miles away from Palestine (Gen. 35:22b–26). But this claim is a phase of the propaganda to obscure the earlier Ephraimite legends. The lower, Benjaminite border was, for centuries, the extreme southern frontier of Israel, and this youngest group gave to Israel its first king, Saul. "And Saul said, Am I not a Ben-

jaminite, of the smallest of the tribes of Israel? – And Samuel said, Thou shalt find two men by Rachel's sepulchre *in the border of Benjamin*" (I Sam. 9:21 and 10:1–2).

Bethlehem Ephraimite Offshoot

Southern Palestine begins to emerge into Hebrew history during the period when Saul's life overlaps the life of David, who was a native of Bethlehem, a village located several miles below the southern frontier of Ephraim. The term *Ephrathite* is applied both to the father of Samuel at the village of Ramah in Ephraim and to the father of David at Bethlehem (I Sam. 1:1 and 17:12). The two sons of Naomi at Bethlehem are called Ephrathites (Ruth 1:2). Bethlehem itself is called Ephratha (Ruth 4:11), and this name is also used with reference to Bethlehem by the prophet Micah (Mic. 5:2). On the other hand, Ephratha is referred to as a person, the "father" of Bethlehem (I Chron. 4:4). The facts are best explained by assuming that the evolution of "Joseph" in Canaan began with "Manasseh"; moved south, producing "Ephraim"; then farther south, giving rise to the small tribe of "Benjamin"; and finally dwindled into a migration by family groups, which either founded Bethlehem

as an Ephraimite offshoot, or conquered the village. It is necessary to consider also the relationship of Ephraim to Beersheba in the far south of Judah. The Ephraimite prophet Samuel had two sons who were judges in Beersheba (I Sam. 8:2); and the Judean prophet Amos goes north into Ephraim to threaten the vengeance of Jehovah upon the "high places of Isaac" (Amos 7:9). Beersheba perhaps represented the extreme southward trek of surplus Ephraimite clans after the settlement in the central highlands.

Bethlehem Ephratha or Judah

The fact has to be taken into account that the term Judah is also applied to Bethlehem. But this name could not at first have been identified with any large extent of territory, because when David was at the Canaanite city of Adullam, a little to the west of Bethlehem, he was advised to depart and go "into the land of Judah" (I Sam. 22:5). We know that the city of Jebus, or Jerusalem, five miles north of Bethlehem, was at that time an independent Amorite place, lying outside Judah (II Sam. 5). And meanwhile the city of Hebron, to the south of Bethlehem, was the stronghold of an Edomite, or Kenizzite, clan called Caleb, descended from Kenaz, the grandson of Esau, "who

is Edom" (Gen. 36:1, 11; Judg. 1:13). Thus, in David's early life, the name Judah (whatever its meaning may have been) was, at the most, restricted to a very small area surrounding the village of Bethlehem.

Judah Legends Reflect "Melting Pot"

We know that David married into a Calebite family at Hebron (I Sam. 25:1–42) and that, for seven years, he occupied this important city, around which he organized all the south Palestinian clans into "the kingdom of Judah" (II Sam. 2:1–11). In that way the name Judah was generalized over most of southern Palestine. And even yet, the city of Jerusalem was a foreign place. But at the end of seven years David and his men occupied a fort called Zion, which overlooked and bridled the city. He did not massacre the inhabitants but simply incorporated them and their city into the kingdom of Judah (II Sam. 5:6–9). "As for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out. But the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day" (Josh. 15:63).

Thus the kingdom and tribe of Judah represent a very mixed origin, with only a distant echo of the blood which went into the evolution of Israel

or Ephraim. This fact of political history is reflected in the legends about Judah (or *Y'hudah*), the mythic ancestor of the tribe. It is really the adventures of David that are symbolized under the name of Judah. This legendary patriarch, like David, becomes friendly with Canaanite gentiles in the city of Adullam, where he marries a woman by the name of Shuah – "daughter of a certain Canaanite" (Gen. 38:1–2). This woman bears a son to Judah, and then Judah finds a Canaanite wife by the name of Tamar for this son (vs. 6). But the woman Tamar seduces Judah himself and has, by Judah, a son called *Pharez* (vss. 14–29). The special interest here is that the book of Ruth refers to Pharez, *"whom Tamar bare unto Judah,"* as the founder of a family at Bethlehem which, after ten generations, culminated in *David the son of Jesse* (Ruth 4:12, 18–22).*

Judah Focalizes around Amorite Jerusalem

This utterly unorthodox perspective must be reckoned with even before we turn to the still more complicated problem raised by the absorption of

*That Judah was not a tribe of Israel, to begin with, but was formed in south Palestine at a rather late period is also the opinion of Professor T. H. Robinson, of University College, Cardiff. His views are set forth in an article, "The Origin of the Tribe of Judah," reprinted without date from the magazine *Amicitiæ Corolla.*

Amorite Jerusalem into the kingdom of Judah. Not until Jebus, or Jerusalem, was occupied by David and incorporated into his kingdom are we able to discern the beginning of a coherent Jewish history in south Palestine, and even then the course of events in Judah bears no resemblance to the politico-religious history of Ephraim in Judges-Samuel-Kings under the leadership of such names as Gideon, Samuel, Saul, Ahijah, Elijah, Elisha, and Hosea. The kingdom of Ephraim, or Israel, involved the ministry of prophets, among whom the first king, Saul, was counted. But the kingdom of Judah was created artificially by the device of David, who was not "among the prophets" and who had the assistance of priests. And while certain prophets are mentioned as being in contact with David (such as Nathan and Gad), their activities bear no resemblance to the picture of prophecy in Ephraim.

Judah Synthesizes Prophecy, Cult

"Judah went down from his brethren" (Gen. 38:1). "Hear, Jehovah, the voice of Judah, and bring him in unto his people" (Deut. 33:7). One of the outstanding notes of Jewish history is that of alienation from the main stream of Hebrew his-

tory. David and Saul were antagonistic and were poles apart in their outlook. David was an internationalist, with friends among foreign peoples; while Saul was isolationist, provincial, and bigoted. And, moreover, Judah was not "brought in" again to Israel after the revolt of Ephraim from the house of David – which is the situation referred to by the passage in Deuteronomy.

If Judah had existed from the wilderness period as an actual, intimate tribe of Israel plunged in the thick of Ephraimite history, then Judah would naturally have been engulfed in the destruction of Ephraim. But on the contrary, the independence of the South enabled the Jews to take up the battle for true religion at the point where Ephraim collapsed. It was in Judah alone that the hard-won monotheism of Elijah and Hosea could be taken over and lifted slowly out of provincialism into a priestly regime whose hard outer shell carried the spirit of prophecy through the storms of ages and guaranteed the security of those values enshrined in the Judæo-Christian tradition. The spirit of Hebrew prophecy could not survive as a disincarnate ideal; and, by a strange paradox, prophecy came to be guarded within the physical framework of a worldly cultus derived, in last analysis, from the Amorite, pagan side of Jerusalem's origin.

VI.

FURTHER LIGHT ON BIBLICAL SOURCES

ACCORDING TO THE priestly source "P," "Abraham was an *hundred* years old when his son Isaac was born" (Gen. 21:5, P). The same source tells us that "Isaac was *forty* years old when he took to wife Rebekah of Padan-Aram" (Gen. 25:20, P). Furthermore, the same priestly document says that when the twins Jacob and Esau were born, their father "Isaac was *threescore* years old" (Gen. 25:26, P).

We are not concerned here with the question whether Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were actual, historic persons, but only with the relationships existing between the sources in which these names appear.

Our next chronological information is that Jacob's twin-brother Esau "was *forty* years old when he took to wife Judith, the daughter of Beeri the Hittite" (Gen. 26:34, P). And since Esau was Jacob's twin, it follows, of course, without any argument, that Jacob at this time was also *forty,* according to "P."

Isaac, the father of Jacob and Esau, was displeased with Esau's Hittite marriage, and for this reason he sent Jacob out of Canaan to Padan-Aram for a wife. Jacob, therefore, was at least *40,* according to the "P" source, when he went away on this errand. He may, upon some different reckoning, have been *more* than 40, but he could not have been less, according to the priestly source. And since both Jacob and Esau were born when their father Isaac was 60, it follows that when Isaac sent Jacob away to Padan-Aram, the age of Isaac himself was at least 60 + 40, which is 100.

At this point, the "P" source is temporarily suspended by the compiler, or compilers, of Genesis, and the Ephraimite, or "E," source is drawn upon. Jacob goes to Padan-Aram, where he serves two periods of seven years each, or fourteen years, for two wives, Leah and Rachel (Gen. 29:27, E).

During this period of fourteen years, ten sons and one daughter, Dinah, are born to Jacob, and at the *end* of that time Rachel bears Joseph. "And it came to pass, when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Jacob said unto Laban, Send me away. Give me my wives and my children, for whom I have served thee" (Gen. 30:25–26, E). The 14 years of service, when added to the minimum of 40 years, made Jacob 54 at the time Joseph was born.

But the "E" source then goes on to say that Jacob was detained 6 years more, in service for Laban's cattle, making 20 years altogether for Jacob in Padan-Aram (Gen. 31:38, 41). So that when Jacob started back to Canaan, he was at least 54 + 6, which equals 60, while at the same time, Joseph was now 6 years old.

For the next chronological notice, the compiler takes us back into the "P" source, where Isaac abruptly reappears, to die. "And the days of Isaac were *an hundred and fourscore years*" (Gen. 35:28–29, P). Since Isaac was *60* when the twin brothers, Jacob and Esau, were born, the age of Jacob at this time was, at least, the difference between 60 and 180, or *120*. And since Jacob, according to the "P" source, was now at least 120 and since Jacob was 54 at the time of Joseph's birth, *Joseph's* age now was the difference between Jacob's 54 and Jacob's 120, or, in other words at this time, Joseph was 66, according to the "P" source.

Two Lines of Chronology

We have had comparatively plain sailing so far, but at this point in the survey two discrepant lines of chronology come before us, and these variants

must be considered separately. The "P" source tells us that "Joseph brought in Jacob his father, and set him before Pharoah: . . . and Jacob said unto Pharoah, The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years" (Gen. 47:7, 9, P). And since Joseph was 66 when his father Jacob was 120, it follows that when Jacob was 130, the 10 additional years carried Joseph up to 76.

The "P" source goes on to say, "Jacob lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years. So the whole age of Jacob was *an hundred and forty and seven years*" (Gen. 47:28, P). And adding this further 17 years to *Joseph's* immediately preceding age of 76, the result is that when Jacob died at 147, *Joseph's* age was the sum of 76 + 17, or a total of 93 for Joseph, up to this time.

The compiler now takes us back into the Ephraimite source, where Joseph's two sons, Manasseh the elder and Ephraim the younger, are brought in to Jacob on his deathbed so that they may receive his blessing. The aged patriarch makes the unusual gesture of crossing his arms, which carried his right hand over to the head of the younger boy, *Ephraim,* who thus obtained the blessing of the *first-born.* "And Jacob said, The Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads; and he set Ephraim before Manasseh" (Gen. 48:14–20, E).

Bearing in mind that, according to the priestly document, Jacob died at 147 when Joseph was 93, we now turn to our next piece of chronological information, which is found in the "E" source as follows: "Joseph saw Ephraim's children of the *third* generation. The children also of Machir the son of Manasseh were brought up upon Joseph's knees. . . . So Joseph died, *an hundred and ten years old*" (Gen. 50:23–26, E).

The compiler of Genesis may have been struck by the embarrassment of compressing too much family history into the brief period of 17 years, between the time when Joseph was 93 and the time when Joseph died at *110*. But however that may be, we must now take into account the other line of chronology referred to above: We are told that just before Joseph was kidnapped into Egypt, he was only *17* (Gen. 37:2) and that when Joseph "stood before Pharoah" at the time of his appointment as Grand Vizier, he was *30* (Gen. 41:46).

What source is responsible for these figures of 17 and 30? The two sections in which they stand are commonly assigned to "P"; but on what grounds? The statement that Joseph was 30 "when he stood before Pharoah" is at once followed by an "E" section referring to "seven plenteous years" which immediately supervened upon Joseph's ap-

pointment (Gen. 41:47, E), so that on this reckoning Joseph, instead of being *76* when his father Jacob arrived in Egypt, would be only *37*. And moreover, when Jacob died 17 years later at 147, Joseph, instead of being 93 (*supra*), would be only 37 + 17, or 54 years old.

This would allow 39 years more time for the family history in Egypt after the death of Joseph's father, Jacob. But if, instead of carrying the calculation *forward,* we carry it backward in time, we are at once landed in obviously impossible difficulties: Thus, if Joseph was *37* when his father Jacob arrived in Egypt at the age of *130,* then Joseph's birth in Padan-Aram took place when his father Jacob was the difference between Joseph's 37 and Jacob's 130, which is 93, instead of Jacob's *54,* as in the other calculation. But this is not all, because, by subtracting from 93 the 14 years of Jacob's service for his two wives, then Jacob would have been a young lad of *79* when his father Isaac sent him away from Canaan into Padan-Aram for a wife, at the very time when Jacob's twin Esau was only *40,* according to the "P" source.

In other words, the Padan-Aram *time-gap* now obtrudes itself as a problem which the Judaic manipulation ignores offhand. And this brings us to an even more startling portent, which involves

one of the most familiar passages in the Bible – the story about the birth of Benjamin *in Canaan* and the concurrent death of his mother Rachel in labor (Gen. 35:16 ff., E). The decease of Rachel is related in a very early Ephraimite source at the foundation of Hebrew historiography because the Ephraimite book of Samuel refers to "Rachel's sepulchre in the border of [the land of] Benjamin" (I Sam. 10:2), and the Ephraimite prophet Jeremiah, of Anathoth in Benjamin, speaks figuratively of Rachel in her tomb at Ramah in Ephraim weeping for the lost tribes of Ephraim (Jer. 31:15).

Suspicion is aroused when we go on from the death and burial of Rachel (in Gen. 35:16–20, E), and later, in chapter 37, we find Jacob asking Joseph, "Shall I, and *thy mother* and thy brethren indeed, come to bow down ourselves to thee to the earth?" (Gen. 37:10, E). This question would have no point, so far as Rachel was concerned, if she were already dead. But the suspicion raised by the passage is highlighted by another disclosure even more dramatic: The "P" source knows nothing *whatever* about any death and burial of Rachel in Canaan nor about any alleged birth of Benjamin in Canaan. For the "P" source, after listing the *twelve* sons of Jacob by *name* (including, of course, Benjamin), goes on to say that "these sons of Jacob

were born to him in Padan-Aram" (Gen. 35:23–26, P). Rachel, then, according to "P," gave birth to both Joseph and Benjamin in Padan-Aram.

Bearing in mind the priestly writer's claim that the entire *twelve* sons of Jacob were born in Padan-Aram, we turn back once more to the "E" source (or to "J," which, in any event, is based upon the Ephraimite complex); and according to this document we find that Jacob, instead of having *twelve* sons when he left Padan-Aram to return into Canaan, had only *ten* sons and one daughter, Dinah: "And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two women-slaves, and his *eleven* children, and passed over the ford Jabbok" (Gen. 32:22). The term here is not "sons" (*banim*) but is correctly translated "children" (*y'ladim*), since the girl Dinah is included in the number of eleven progeny and is presently seduced by the prince of Shechem (Gen. 34). Subtracting Dinah, then, from the "eleven children," we have *ten* sons instead of twelve.

This new discrepancy is just as serious as that which makes Rachel give birth to Benjamin in Padan-Aram instead of in Canaan and that which makes her die in Genesis 35, only to reappear two chapters later. How are these cumulative difficulties to be explained? The very sources in which the

lines of *chronology* fall out of consistent relationship involve, at the same time, stark and appalling variations in regard to *locale* and to the *personal history* of the characters upon which the narrative depends for its veracity as an account of actual events. If the differences were not so persistent and widespread, they could be explained by normal human fallibility and the natural chance of mistakes in copying. But they are so numerous and so artificially placed that they converge upon a design whose logic moves below the surface of the text.

Scribes Reduce Joseph's Age

The answer to the difficulty is, in the *first* place, that the Judaic scribes, in the post-Babylonian "bottleneck" through which we get all this material, are bent upon making *Joseph* younger than he was in the other sources. And accordingly Joseph's age is drawn *forward* to a point where the scribes can represent the patriarch Jacob as being senile when he begat his favorite son Joseph so that Joseph himself loses prestige as the first-born, and the Judaic interpolator can safely make the preposterous declaration, "Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, *because he was the son of his old age*" (Gen. 37:3). This remarkable pas-

sage comes from a writer who affects to know about the sexual history of Jacob in his declining years, and the statement implies the continued existence of Joseph's mother, Rachel, who has been disposed of already several times but who now reappears again as the spouse of Jacob's dotage. The same passage also makes use of Jacob's later legendary name "Israel," which does not appear in the Ephraimite source proper, but is found in two Judaic strata, i.e., "J" (which always has an ulterior purpose), and "P," which distorts both history and legend with more violence than any of the other sources (Gen. 32:24–32, J; and Gen. 35:10, P).

The Ephraimite-Complex

We have now at length made our way down into the lower part of the Ephraimite-complex, which is the original foundation of all Hebrew historiography and which underlies all the Judaic sources (EDJPH, in this order), all the strata above "E" playing their various parts in the distortion and obscuration of basic Ephraimite material.

The difference between the conventional *twelve* sons of Jacob and the *ten* sons of the passage here in view gives us *two* sons who are, so to speak, released from the prison-house of orthodox Jewish

and Christian tradition and who are to be considered presently; while, on the other hand, by the same token the remaining *ten* sons are set afloat in superimposed matter which becomes more and more artificial as we ascend into the Judaic strata above "E," where a further startling discrepancy now unfolds by degrees.

The age of Joseph is drawn forward, not simply to explain Jacob's preference for Joseph as "the son of his old age" but in order to make room for the factitious version of Hebrew family history which confronts us in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters of Genesis. Presupposed by the anti-Ephraimite "Tabernacle" source in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, the birth-material in Genesis 29 and 30 is an awkward, pro-Leah, pro-Judaic distortion, whose present literary form fails to conceal the pro-Ephraimite, pro-Rachel strata that clearly underlie and protrude through the distorted genealogy as soon as the key to these two strategic chapters comes to light. Inasmuch as an explanation has been given elsewhere, only the main points will be recapitulated here.

The author of Chronicles, who belongs to the late, Jewish, priestly school, admits that the sons of Joseph possessed the birthright of the first-born (I Chron. 5:1). But the Chronicler ineptly seeks

to break the force of the early Ephraimite legend by claiming that the house of Joseph had the birthright merely because it was transferred to them through the sinfulness of Jacob's *alleged* first-born son, Reuben, whose mother was Leah, the rival of the Ephraimite matriarch Rachel (Gen. 29:32).

The basic material in Genesis 29 and 30 is *Ephraimite*. Jacob loves only Rachel, the mother of the house of Joseph in Canaan, which includes also Benjamin, the younger son of Jacob and Rachel. This legend reflects the social evolution of the Kingdom of Ephraim in central Canaan, whose first king is the Benjaminite leader Saul.

Jacob cares nothing for Leah, who is excluded from his "tent" in the same way that Judah, the son of Leah, is cast off because the dynasty of Judah chastised Ephraim with whips (I Kings 12:1–14). Ephraim never forgave the Judaic house of David for its oppressive policy, while Judah never forgave Ephraim for its rebellion against the house of David and its rejection of the Judaic dynasty "unto this day."

The post-Babylonian scribes, working ceaselessly in the interest of Judah, use the prestige of Jehovah to make Rachel sterile while granting fertility to Leah, who becomes the mother of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun. The sterility

of Rachel is the preposterous penalty which the Judaic scribes imagine to have been visited upon Rachel by Jehovah because Jacob naturally hated Leah, who was forced upon him by deceit and without his consent. This later phase of the Ephraimite legend, of course, could originate only after the benefits conferred by David's conquest of the Philistines were obscured and forgotten under the terrible weight of Judaic militarism and the lash of economic oppression (II Sam. 20:1, 2, 21; I Kings 12:1–20). Then it could easily appear that Judah had been forced into the national "tent" of Ephraim-Israel and that Judah's legendary mother, Leah, had been introduced by stealth into the marriage-bed of Jacob.

The Judaic scribes, of course, had neither the wit nor the power to conceal permanently the unbending nature of the fundamental Ephraimite source. It is Rachel, the Ephraimite mother, who retains marital rights over Jacob. It is Rachel alone who has authority to "hire out" Jacob to Leah for just one single night. On the other hand, it is Leah who foolishly, without moral justification, accuses Rachel of having "taken" Jacob from her. It is Leah, again, who, after giving birth to Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, exclaims in vain that Jacob will *now* live with her because she has borne him three

sons; and then, after bearing three more sons, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun, she ejaculates with equal inconsequence, "Now will my husband dwell with me, because I have borne him [altogether] six sons." But Jacob is completely obdurate because he symbolizes the inexorable fact that Ephraim, which has the keys to the Kingdom of Israel, will never again admit the house of Judah into the main body of the Hebrew nation. Each of the bondwomen bears two sons, making four, which, added to Leah's half dozen, make *ten* sons. Then Leah bears the girl Dinah, making eleven *children*. Then, finally, by grace of the Judaic scribes and Jehovah, the course of sterility is lifted from Rachel, who at length bears Joseph.

But now, as we are preoccupied with indecisive thoughts and bewilderments, a new and unexpected portent suddenly rises and strikes us full amidships. All of this busy maternity, which takes place in Padan-Aram, adds up to exactly *eleven* sons and one daughter — which is not only in appalling disagreement with the "P" source's *twelve* sons, born in Padan-Aram (Gen. 35:24–26), but with the "E" based narrative of "J," wherein Jacob returns to Canaan with *ten* sons and one daughter, making altogether eleven *children* (Gen. 32:22, where the "Authorized Version" wrongly renders *y'ladim*

"sons." Cf. the American and English Revised versions, the Moffatt translation, and the Bible issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America, all of which, in contrast with the "Authorized," render the Hebrew accurately).

We have already seen that this "E" based narrative, coming from one of the many successive "J" writers, inadvertently releases *two* sons from the prison-house of Jewish and Christian orthodoxy. We are, indeed, now down to the bedrock of "E" material. The two sons in question are none other than Joseph and Benjamin, representing clans, or tribes, which consolidated in the central highlands of Canaan during the Judges period. Their family names are in the forefront of the Deborah Song (Judg. 5:14 f., E). The trouble between "Joseph" and his "brethren" was primarily with "slacker-clans" derived mainly from the legendary bondwomen of Jacob (Gen. 37:2; cf. Judg. 5:17, where, for Gilead, read Gad).

As for the phantasmagoria of birth-stories dramatized in Padan-Aram — the ten sons and one daughter are specters that vanish into the void of nonhistoricity. Aramean clans doubtless migrated into Canaan, but the distorted birth-tales of Genesis 29 and 30 are manipulations of scribes in the "bottleneck," which seek to discount the prestige

of Ephraim. These Judaic writers need Ephraim as a background for the provincial importance of postexilic Judah, and yet, at the same time, they intensely hate Ephraim. They are, in fact, helpless in the face of an outstanding historico-spiritual problem whose terms extend beyond the scribes' intellectual orbit.

One of the commonest methods used for disparaging Ephraim was to place a pro-Leah manifesto just *ahead* of basic Ephraimite passages which, if left standing by themselves, reflected importance or glory in too high a degree upon the house of Joseph. Thus, for example, in the case of Genesis 48: The bulk of this chapter (except vss. 3–6) is from basic "E," revolving around the scene wherein Jacob exalts Ephraim into the spotlight, while conferring upon the house of Joseph more land in Canaan than falls to the lot of the other Hebrew tribes: "Let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth." The half-Egyptian sons of Joseph are adopted by the patriarch: "Let my name be named on them."

But from the standpoint of editorial jealousy, this was too much distinction for the Josephites because it pictured them enjoying disproportionate intimacy and superabundant favoritism at the hands of the national progenitor, Jacob. And so the

above-mentioned verses, 3–6, are interpolated near the beginning of the chapter for the sole purpose of limiting the prestige of Ephraim. A scene is depicted which assumes that the Hebrew nation is normally ruled by influences derived from the hated Leah. And so *Jacob* is quoted as declaring, with great condescension, that the sons of Joseph shall belong to him *just like the Leah-sons, Reuben and Simeon.* While as for Canaan, the entire land shall belong impartially to the whole Hebrew people, without special favor, as an everlasting possession. The contrast between this artificial pronouncement and the body of chapter 48 is outstanding. Jacob, in the basic "E" legend, or tradition, adopts Ephraim and Manasseh because they are the sons of Joseph and the grandsons of Jacob's beloved wife Rachel, but *not* because Jacob wants to put them in the same category with Leah's children.

On a still greater scale, the producers of Genesis try to divest the Josephites of credit in connection with the military conquest of Shechem, which is burned to the ground by the Josephite tribe of Manasseh under the lead of Gideon's family (Judg. 9). The device used for this end is a dramatic tale in which Leah's daughter, Dinah, is defiled by the prince of Shechem, whereupon Simeon and Levi,

two of the sons of Leah, destroy the city (Gen 34).

A variation of the anti-Rachel propaganda is used in editing the book of Judges. This book revolves around the early evolution of Ephraim in the central highlands at an early period when there are no Jewish characters in evidence on the stage of Hebrew history. The scribes in the bottleneck are unable to produce any folklore about Jewish leaders or heroes in the Judges epoch to match the well-known tales about the non-Jewish Gideon, Barak, Abimelek, Samson, Jephthah, etc., and so they make use of still another device: Two highly artificial passages are placed at each end of Judges, and in both cases Jehovah says, "Judah shall go up first" (Judg. 1:2; cf. 20:18). This makes Judges a Jewish book — in the eyes of scribal naïveté.

We must bear in mind that while the post-Babylonian scribes were impelled by very human motives, their general purpose was religious edification to confirm the creative work of pre-exilic prophecy and that, in the accomplishment of this end, the action of Providence must be regarded as implicit not only in high ethical motives and ideals but also as overruling base impulses of resentment, vindictiveness, jealousy, etc., which we find animating, in full measure, the scribal compilers and editors who produced the Hebrew Bible. Their

work, in spite of its undeniably sordid phase, has actually edified succeeding generations, both Jewish and Gentile. But their spiritual influence does not release us from the severe demands of scientific method, needed today, more than ever, in the understanding and interpretation of the Bible. The history of Israel is cut through by a sharp dichotomy, which lays upon scientific scholarship the burden of presenting constructively, within a uniform perspective, the original importance of Ephraim and the final consequence of Judah in the spiritual evolution of religion. The performance of this task is a service which can be co-operatively rendered by investigators and teachers in the prevailing crisis of belief.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, incompatible chronologies of, 148
Ahab, son of Omri, follows David's Phœnician policy, 64, 65
Ahijah, Ephraimite prophet, leads revolt against Judah, 61
Amos, prophet, condemns Judah; delivers his message in Ephraim, 113
Amsterdam, interchurch meeting at, and modern belief, 85
Apocrypha, on Jewish sin, 73
Asher, slave-tribe, on north of Tabernacle, 23
Astronomy, geology, influence on religion, 1
Atomic fission, influence on religion, 1
Augustine, ix

Baal, worshiped simultaneously with Jehovah, 4; in Jerusalem, before and after David, 72, 73; Phœnician, temple in Ephraim's capital, 65; worship of, identified with economic injustice and immorality, 6; priests of, in Ephraim, 65; prophets of, in Ephraim, 65; worship of, reappears after death of Josiah, 77
Babylon, conquered by Persia, 79
"Beersheba to Dan," expression, 117
Belief, the term, as used in this book, vii; originates concretely, vii; as based on sudden miracle vs. evolutionary process, x; ancient, established on very limited stage, 3; not dependent upon literal historicity of Tabernacle, nor upon so called "infallibility," 32; matured, monotheistic, projected into dim past, 4, 36; will not revert to former dogmatism, 15
Benjamin, Rachel-tribe, at rear of Tabernacle, 23; clans of, in Judges period, corrupt, 56; rival birthplaces, 102, 141; "son of the South," 141; lower frontier coterminous with southern Ephraimite border, 141
Bethlehem, as Ephraimite offshoot, 142; "Ephratha" and "Judah," 142, 143
Bible, scientific interpretation of, not yet generally clear among scholars, 14; and Hebrew history, fundamental antitheses in, clue to problem of belief, 15; as created by Jewish writers in "bottleneck," 18, 19; evolves in "bottleneck" of postexilic Jewish life, 28; created by impalpable struggle between Ephraimitic and Judaic influences, 30; "Judaization" of, begins in Babylonian Captivity, 30; not a single, unitary book, 32; not redacted by final "Board of Editors,"

32; official construction of, after exile, 79, 80; "Judaizing" of, not accomplished without some reference to obscure, lost legends, 82; and mission imposed upon Jews by history, 106
Bible classes, adult, and modern scholarship, 14
Bible history, seen without perspective, 31
"Bottleneck," Jewish, channel of information, 18

Calvin, ix
Canaan, conquest of, incomplete, 49; highlands of, protect, isolate Hebrew religious evolution, 58; personalized, as literal ancestor, 136
"Chronicler," awkwardly concedes birthright to Ephraimites, "sons of Joseph," 100
Cities, Oriental, against welfare of common people, 47
Clan, primitive, incompatibility of, with abstract monotheism, 36; nomadic, as "brotherhoods," 48
Clergy, progressive, and modern Biblical scholarship, 14
Conceptions of God, tension between individualistic and social, 85
Creation, supposed date of, 3
Cross, Frank M., and Tabernacle in Wilderness, 129

Dan, slave-tribe, on north of Tabernacle, 22, 23
David, builds Oriental, imperialistic despotism at Jerusalem, 51; non-Ephraimite, saves Ephraim from Philistines, 59; his defeat of Philistines overshadowed by his oppression of Ephraim, 160
Davidic dynasty, transforms Jehovah into Oriental, imperial deity, 61, 62
Deuteronomic scribes, edit basic sources of Judges, Samuel, Kings, 100
Displaced persons, Jews in Babylonian Captivity, 29

"E" (Ephraimite) narrative lacking in early Genesis, 111; and "J," historical geography of, 134–6; bedrock, or basic, as related to Joseph and Benjamin, 162
Egyptian experience, of Israel, obscure, 42
Elijah, prophet, as champion of Jehovah, 66; forms "Jehovah underground," 67
Elisha, prophet, continues Elijah's work, 69
Ephraim, destruction of, predicted by prophets, 6; gives name to central Canaanite highlands, 16; builds original Hebrew monarchy, 16; rebels against rule of David, 17, 51, 52; Rachel-tribe at rear of Tabernacle, 23; not at first superior to elder Joseph-tribe of Manasseh, 24; "firstborn of Jehovah," 43; the original "Israel," 53; early evolution of, in Canaan, 53, 54; blessed by Jacob above Manasseh, 57; clans of, in Judges period, high-spirited, 57; conquered by Philistines, 58, 59; oppressed by Davidic Jerusalem, in alliance with Tyre, 59, 60; second and successful revolt of, 61; resumes independence and true role, 62, 110; reaction of, against David's adultery, 63, 64; di-

vided over isolationism vs. internationalism, 64; disintegration of, 68; has legend-building power, 100; history of, obscured in eyes of Christians, Jews, 116; and Judah, contrast between, economic, not tribal, 132; rejects Judah as Jacob rejects Leah, 134; rebellion against house of David brings reassertion of "Israel-consciousness," 134; history of, tends toward South, 140; first and unsuccessful revolt against Jerusalem, 160
Ephraimite legend, takes form in twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C., 101; transposed by Judaic editorial work, 103
Ephraimite sources, offensive to and manipulated by Jewish scribes, 99; priority of, 108
Ephratha, Ephrathite, 142
Esau, approach of to Jacob, and "E" arrangement of sources, 101, 102; marries Hittite woman at age forty, 148, 149
Ethics, modern Judæo-Christian, cannot pass unfavorable judgment on "Judaization" process, 31
Evolution, doctrine, influence on modern belief, 1; of religion, not understood in antiquity, viii
Ezekiel, prophet, denounces Jerusalem as worse than Samaria, 29; denounces seizure of land by kings, 76, 77

Family history, of patriarch Jacob, as distorted in Genesis twenty-nine and thirty, 158
Family life, postexilic, Jewish, purity of, under influence of priestly and prophetic writings, 83
Finkelstein, Professor L., on Sadducean party, 87
"First-born of Jehovah," i.e., Ephraim, 57, 58

Gad, slave tribe, 22
Genesis, "E" narrative begins in chap. twenty, 111; chap. one priestly, 111; chaps. twenty-nine and thirty primarily Ephraimite, 112; Jewish redactors of, build within "P" framework toward Leah-triumph, 111, 112; reflects Ephraimite evolution, 159; chap. forty-eight, blessing of Jacob's sons in, defaced by Judaic scribes, 163, 164
Gideon, work of, 56
God, basic moral-personal Reality in cosmos, 2; belief in, not abandoned by unchurched masses, 13; in history and in Moral Law, 12
"Gods your fathers worshiped," 34
Goshen, basic narrative locates Israel in, 41
Gospel, social and individual, not adjusted in this book, vii, 96
Gospels, synoptic, 89

Hebrew history, pagan background of, 35; and Ephraim, 40
Holy Land, confined to south Palestine in time of Jesus, 89
Hosea and Amos, work of, in Ephraim, 69–71

Ibn Ezra, 127–8
Isaiah, says Ephraim "departed" from Judah, 63; on concentration of land in few hands, 74; inaccuracy of, 116
"Israel," name, not applied to Jacob in "E," but only in "J" and "P," 157
"Israel-consciousness," primarily in Ephraim, 109–10; none in pre-Davidic Judah region, 110
Issachar, Leah-tribe, on front of Tabernacle, 22

"J" document, mostly Ephraimite in origin, note on, 63; subordinate to "E," 99; disappears as independent source, 118
Jacob, after conquest of Shechem, ignores captives and spoil, 126; "Blessing of," rival "E" and "P" forms, 122–5; leaves Padan-Aram with eleven children, 155
Jehovah, relation of Israel to, casual at first, 36, begins in Wilderness, 37; idea of, channel for monotheistic evolution, 46
Jeremiah, not Jewish, Benjaminite, 25; only prophet referring to Rachel, 26; declares Ephraim superior morally to Judah, 26; against claims of Jewish priests that a "Law" was given in Wilderness, 26; denounces cultic use of migration from Egypt, 38
Jeroboam, Ephraimite leader, son of alleged leprous woman, 134
Jerusalem, essentially Canaanite, not Hebrew or Jewish, 50; mistakenly glorified in Judæo-Christian orthodoxy, 62, 63; sinfulness of, greater than that of Samaria, 72; Jerusalem, Samaria, desolate, 76, 77; destruction of, causes confusion, bewilderment, 79
Jew, name, derived from Judah, 7
"Jewish history," term usually inaccurate, 31
Jewish masses, conscious of Hebrew prophets, 86
Jews, not pained by destruction of Ephraim, 7; terrified out of heathenism by Babylonian Captivity, 9; become burden bearers of Israel's mission, 19; on front, or east, of Tabernacle, 21; not "linebred," 73; begin return to Judah, 79

Kenites, kindness of, to Israel, 38

Laity, confused today, 14
Latin church, and Jewish orthodoxy, ix
Leah, legendary Judean matriarch, hated by Jacob, 8; imposed upon Jacob, 101; lusterless eyes of, 134; not necessarily viewed as wife in earliest form of legend, 138; said to be fertile, in contrast with Rachel, 159
Leah-tribes, said to exceed Rachel-tribes in military strength, 120; first, in all sections of "P," 120, 121, 122
Legend-building power, primarily in Ephraim, 18
Legends, Israelite, reflect intertribal hostility, 7, 8
Levi, Leah-tribe, originally uniform, differentiates into Priests and Levites, 82

Machir, early form of Manasseh, 133
Manasseh, Rachel-tribe, at rear of Tabernacle, 23
Manasseh and Ephraim, elder and younger sons of Joseph, 16
Micah, prophet, on concentration of landed property, 75
Monotheism, establishment of, shifts center of attention, viii; not held by early Hebrews, 4; orthodox view of, 10; evolutionary view of, 11; first becomes definitive, 67, 68; transference of to gentile world, a problem, 84; primarily nationalistic, 85
Moral life, of man, peculiar field of God's activity, 13
Morale, Jewish, in Babylonian exile, needed stimulus, 30
Moses, or "Mosheh," orthodox figure of, vanishes, 45, 46; possible factor in contact between Ephraimites and Kenites, 45

Naboth, peasant, tragedy of, 66
Naphtali, slave-tribe, on north of Tabernacle, 23
Nehemiah, book of, testifies to Israelite heathenism, 5

Obadiah, governor of royal palace, in pro-Jehovah party, 65, 66
Oesterly and Robinson, on relative dates of "J" and "E," 108
Omri, king of Ephraim-Israel, 64
Orr, Professor James, on Tabernacle in Wilderness, 128
Orthodoxy, views God as "transcendent," viii, ix; obscurantism and metaphysical abstraction of, 13
"Other gods," worship of, in Israel, not a religious declension, 54; attacked by prophets on concrete grounds, 75

Passover, orthodox ideology, incompatible with Goshen legend, 42
Paul, individualism of, 93, 94; and Jesus, relation of churches to, 91, 92; Epistles of, and synoptic gospels, 93
Pfeiffer, Professor R. H., 3, 53, 111
Philistines, conquer Ephraim, 58, 59
Priestly Law, created around ideology of Tabernacle in Wilderness, viii; comes into view about 400 B.C., 81
Priestly source, "P," in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, contrasted with Deuteronomy, 81; built around description of Tabernacle in Wilderness, 81, 82; unvaryingly anti-Ephraimite, anti-Rachel, pro-Judaic, pro-Leah, 120; indispensable to evolution of religion, but beclouds historical perspective, 128, 129
Priestly system, of Judaism, carries prophetic ideals with it, 86; holds Jewish people together, 86.
Priests, Sadducean, their wealth mentioned by Professor Finkelstein, 87; and Crucifixion, 90, 91
Pro-Jehovah party, in Jerusalem, 74
Prophecy, and priestly element, ultimately combined in postexilic Judaism, 80

Prophetism, Ephraimite, active against Baal-invasion, 65
Prophets, Hebrew, and God in history, vii; not abstract, metaphysical thinkers, 4; foretell Captivity, 8; against Ephraimite and Judaic priesthoods, 27; could not prevent cultic, ritualistic development in monotheism, 27; and "Egypt" (i.e., Goshen), 37; know nothing of "orthodox" tradition about Egypt proper, 44; get more out of wilderness tradition than Hebrew masses can digest, 45; Ephraimite, Jewish, all on same platform, 75, 76

Rachel, legendary Ephraimite matriarch, beloved wife of Jacob, 7; primary fertility of in "E," 101; vs. Leah, 104; and Joseph, protected from Esau by Jacob, 135, 136; death of, in basic "E" source, 154; rules Jacob's household, 160; said by later scribes to be sterile at first, 159, 160
Religious edification, aim of Judaic scribes, 165
Reuben, Leah-tribe, on south of Tabernacle, 22; patriarchal figure used for purpose of obscuring Joseph and Ephraimites, 137
Robinson, T. H., and late origin of Judah, 145, note
Roman empire, social conditions in, and Paul's work, 94

Samaritan, parable of, 88
Samson, betrayed by "men of Judah," 130
Samuel, and monarchy, in early Ephraim, 16, 17
Samuel, book of, "Deuteronomic" interpolation in, 76
Saul, and first Ephraimite kingdom, 16, 17; predicts seizure of land by David, 76; method of organizing Ephraim, contrasted with David's organization of Judah, 114
Scholarship, progressive, attitude of toward Tabernacle in Wilderness, ix
Scientific method, needed more than ever in Biblical teaching and research, 166
Scientific results, now penetrating popular mind rapidly, 13
Scribes, unknown, in Babylonian Captivity, and prophet Ezekiel, 82, 83
Septuagint, and Ephraimite legend, 100
Shechem, Canaanite city, dangerous to Israel, 55; conquest of, as told by Judaic writers, 125, 164, 165
"Sidon," first-born of "Canaan," 136
Simeon, Leah-tribe, on south of Tabernacle, 22
Slaves, revolt of, in Roman Empire, 95
Smith, George Adam, and evolution of monotheism, 11
Social problems, influence religion, 1

Tabernacle, narrative of, discloses own nature, x; checked by authorities at various universities and seminaries, x; based on still earlier manipulation of sources, 118; presents sanctuary as Jewish-Leah monopoly, 20, 21, 22; occupies central part of Pentateuch, 20, 30; con-

trasted with Ezekiel's priestly plan, 126; becomes legal, sacrosanct, 127; tradition grows in Talmudic times, 127
Temple, at Jerusalem, rebuilt, 80
Tribes, alleged history of, confused, impossible, 130; twenty schedules, or lists of, in Old Testament, 131; schedules in Judges 5 and I Kings 4 compared, 132, 133; names of, as designations of neighborhood, 138

War, influences religion, 1
Wellhausen, his formula "JEDP," 108

Zebulun, Leah-tribe, on front of Tabernacle, 22

INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

GENESIS

10:15 136
16:34 113
19:1–8 56
20 64
21:5, 25:20, 25:26 148
29:21–34 ..... 17, 21
29:17 134
29:27 149
29:30 103
29:31 104
29:31–35 ..... 104, 137
29:32 159
30:1, 2 104
30:1–20 104
30:20 ..... 17, 21
30:21 105
30:25 102
30:25–26 149
31:38, 41 150
32:7, 22 ..... 135, 136
32:22 ..... 155, 161
32:24–32 ..... 135, 137
33:1–2 102
33:2 136
33:18–19 55
34 ..... 55, 125
34:1–31 56
34:27–29 ..... 126, 155, 165
35 155
35:10 157
35:16–20 ..... 55, 103, 135, 141, 154
35:22 ..... 22, 137
35:23–26 ..... 102, 135, 155, 161
35:22B–26 ..... 121, 141
35:28, 29 150
36:1, 11 144
36:16–20 102
37:2 ..... 157, 162
37:3 ..... 102, 156
37:10 154
38:1 146
38:1–2 145
39:3 163
41:46 ..... 103, 152
41:47 125
42:8–20 113
43:3–9 112
44:14 113
44:14–34 ..... 63 n.
46:8 ff. 121
46:15, 19 138
46:28 123
47 101
47:9 102
47:7–9 151
47:28 151
48:3–6 163
48:5, 16 124
48:7 125
48:7–22 124
48:13, 14 ..... 54, 55
48:14–20 152
48:14–22 40
48:15 ff. 123
48:20 57
48:22 125
49 131
49:3 44
49:1–27, 10, 28 124
49:3–4 137
49:4 22
49:31 125
50:23–26 152

EXODUS

1:15, 8:22, 9:26 41
3:22; 11:2; 12:23; 12:35–36 42
1:1–5 121
1:47, 49 122

24:5 128
26; 13:1 ff. 122

NUMBERS

1–4; 2:3 21
2:3–24; 10:14–20; 10:21–27 120
7:12, 42; 17:18, 24, 30, 36 ..119
16:1, 26, 30 ff. 137

DEUTERONOMY

21:17 44
32:10 37
33 131
33:6 137
33:17 141

JOSHUA

15:63 .....51, 59, 62, 144
24:1, 2, 14, 23..... 35

JUDGES

1:2; 20:18 165
1:13 144
3:5–6 .....50, 51, 62
3:15 55
5 131
5:14 54
5:14 ff., 17 162
5:15 137
5:17 139
5:24–27 38
6:11–32; 9:1–57; 19:22–24 56
8:1; 8:30–32; 12:1 55
8:1; 12:1; 17:1 ff.; 20.... 57
9 164
11:1 139
15 130

RUTH

1:2; 4:11 142
4:12, 18–22 145

I SAMUEL

1:1; 9:21; 10:1–2; 17:2... 142
8:2; 22:5 143
10:2 154
15:6 39
18:14; 22:7 76
25:1–42 144

II SAMUEL

2:1–11; 5:6–9 144
5 143
11 62
13:23–29; 14:30–31 76
19:43 100
20:1, 2, 21 .....60, 160

I KINGS

4 132
11:5–8 72
11:26 134
12:1–14 159
12:1–20 160
12:10–20 17
12:14–20 60
12:15 .....52, 61
16:21 ff. 64
18:3, 4; 21:13 66
19:18 68

II KINGS

4:1 69
9:26 66
11 72
11:17–18 73
16:3 107
17:5, 6, 18 71
17:19 .....107, 115
21:1, 11 73
21:13 107
25 77

I CHRONICLES

4:4 142
5:1–2 .....44, 100, 158

II CHRONICLES

21:13 107

EZRA

7:1, 21 81

NEHEMIAH

8:1–8 81
9:34 .....4, 9

ISAIAH

1:21 116
5:8 74
7:17 .....63, 115

JEREMIAH

2:2 37
2:3 44
3:11 .....26, 72
5:1 63
7:15 72
7:21–22; 8:8 26
22:15–16 75
23:7–8 38
31:9 .....43, 57
31:15 154

EZEKIEL

16:1–3; 45–50 56
16:2–3 .....50, 62
16:3, 51 72
16:44 ff. 116
16:51–52 29
45:8 77

HOSEA

5:11 70
6:6 .....70, 76, 90
9:10 37
11:3 40
13:16 71

AMOS

2:6–8; 7:14, 15, 17 70
7:9 143
9:7 38

MICAH

2:2 75
5:2 142
6:9–16 116
6:16 107

APOCRYPHA

Susanna, vs. 56 73

MATTHEW

9:13; 12:7 90

LUKE

13:34 63
20:46–47 90

Date Due

JAN 2 [illegible]

[illegible]

JUN 10 1973

[illegible]

BS1197 .1.W214
The Bible and modern belief; a
Princeton Theological Seminary–Speer Library
1 1012 00116 4583